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# *PROCEEDINGS*

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# BIBLICAL ARCHÆOLOGY.

## FOURTEENTH SESSION, 1883-84.

*First Meeting, 6th November*, 1883.

SAMUEL BIRCH, D.C.L., LL.D., &c., PRESIDENT,

IN THE CHAIR.

The following Presents were announced, and thanks ordered to be returned to the Donors :—

From the Royal Society :—The Proceedings. Vol. XXXV. Nos. 225 and 226. 8vo. London. 1883.

From the Society of Antiquaries :—The Proceedings. January 26 to November 30, 1882. 8vo. London. 1883.

From the Royal Asiatic Society :—The Journal. New Series. Vol. XV. Parts 3 and 4. July, 1883. 8vo. London.

From the Geological Society :—The Quarterly Journal. Vol. XXXIX. Part 3. No. 155. August 1, 1883. 8vo. London. 1883.

From the Royal Geographical Society :—The Proceedings and Monthly Record of Geography. Vol. V. Nos. 7, 8, 9, July, August, September. 8vo. London. 1883.

From the Royal Institute of British Architects:—The Transactions. Session 1882–83. 4to. London. 1883.

The Proceedings. Nos. 16, 17, and 18, June and July, 1883. 8vo. London.

From the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland:—The Journal. Vol. XIII. Nos. 1 and 2. 8vo. London. August and November, 1883.

List of Members. November, 1883.

From the Royal Archæological Institute:—The Archæological Journal. Vol. XL. Nos. 158 and 159. 8vo. London. 1883.

From the Palestine Exploration Fund:—The Quarterly Statement, July, 1883. 8vo. London.

From the Society for Psychical Research:—The Proceedings. Vol. I. Parts 1, 2, and 3. 8vo. London. 1883.

From the Smithsonian Institution:—The Annual Report of the Board of Regents for 1864, 1866, 1881, and 1883. 8vo. Washington. 1872–1883.

From the American Oriental Society:—The Proceedings. May, 1883. 8vo. Boston.

From the Editor:—The American Journal of Philology. Vol. IV. No. 1. 8vo. Baltimore. 1883.

From Professor Frederick Gardiner, D.D.:—The Journal of the Society of Biblical Literature and Exegesis for June and December, 1881 and 1882. 2 parts. 8vo. Middletown, Conn., U.S.A. 1882, 1883.

From the Editor:—The American Antiquarian and Oriental Journal. Vol. V. No. 3. 8vo. July, 1883.

From the Editor:—Le Muséon, Revue Internationale. Tome II. No. 3. 8vo. Paris. 1883.

From the Academie des Inscriptions et de Belles Lettres:—

Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum. Pars I.

Inscriptiones Phœnicias continens. Tomus I.

Fasciculus Secundus. Folio. Paris. 1883. Tabulæ.

Fasciculus Secundus. (Tab. XV–XXXVI.) Folio. Paris. 1883.

From P. J. de Horrack :—L'Égyptologie. Série I. Tomes I and II. Les Maximes du Scribe Ani, avec transcription, etc. Par F. Chabas. 4to. Chalon and Paris. 1876, 1878.

From Dr. Birch (President) :—Nile Gleanings. By H. Villiers Stuart. 8vo. London. 1879.

The Funeral Tent of an Egyptian Queen, etc. 8vo. By H. Villiers Stuart. London. 1882.

From the Rev. E. J. Selwyn :—Travels in Syria and the Holy Land, by the late John Lewis Burckhardt. 4to. London. 1822.

From Miss Brock :—Rome : Pagan and Papal. 8vo. By Mourant Brock, M.A. 8vo. London. 1883.

From the Author :—Monumenti Egiziani rinvenuti di recente in Roma sull' area dell' Iséo del Campo Marzio. Notizie di Erneste Schiaparelli. 8vo. Roma. 1883.

Reprinted from the Bulletino della Commissione Archelogica Communale. No. 2. 1883.

From the Author :—Sammlung altägyptischer Wörter welche von klassischen Autoren umschrieben oder übersetzt worden sind. Von Alfred Wiedermann. 8vo. Leipzig. 1883.

From the Author :—Phul e Tuklatpalasar II, Salmanasar V, e Sargon, questioni Biblico-Assire del sacerdote, Guiseppe Massaroli. Dottore in Sacra Terlogia e Parroco in Faenza. 8vo. Rome. 1882.

From the Author :—The Greek and Latin Inscriptions on the Oblelisk-crab in the Metropolitan Museum, New York. A monograph by Augustus C. Merriam, Ph.D. 8vo. New York. 1883.

From the Author :—Salomon, Assurbanipal, Balthasar. Par A. Delattre, S.J. 8vo. Bruxelles. 1883.

Extrait de la Revue Précis Historiques, 1883.

Cyrus, d'après une nouvelle méthode historique. 8vo. Paris. 1883. Par A. Delattre, S.J.

Extrait du Muséon. Juillet, 1883.

Esquisse de Géographie Assyrienne, par A. Delattre. 8vo. Bruxelles. 1883.

Extrait de la Revue des Questions Scientifiques. Juillet, 1883.

From the Author :—A Dictionary of the Aneityumese [Papuan] Language, in two Parts; also Outlines of Aneityumese Grammar. By the Rev. John Inglis, D.D. 8vo. London. 1882.

From the Author :—Épigraphes Hébraïques et Grecques sur des Ossuaires Juifs inédits. Par M. Ch. Clermont-Ganneau. 8vo. Paris. 1883.

Extrait de la Revue Archéologique. Mai–Juin, 1883.

Revue Politique et Littéraire, No. 13, containing M. Clermont-Ganneau's account of the "Shapira MS."

From the Author :—Humour and Irony of the Hebrew Bible. By the Rev. Dr. Chotzner. 8vo. Harrow. 1883.

From the Author :—Polynesian Origins. By D. Macdonald.

Extract from the Victorian Review. June, July, and August, 1883.

From the Author :—Harmonies of Tones and Colours developed by Evolution. By F. J. Hughes. Folio. London. 1883.

The following have been purchased by the Council for the Library of the Society :—

A History of Art in Ancient Egypt, from the French of Georges Perrot and Charles Chipiez. Translated and Edited by Walter Armstrong, B.A., Oxon. 2 vols. 8vo. London. 1883.

The following were nominated for election at the next Meeting on December 4th :—

Mrs. Griffiths, Hearne House, Swansea.

William Harry Turton (Lieut. R.E.), F.R.G.S., Devonia, Lordship Lane, S.E.

Rev. Frederick Gardiner, D.D., Professor Berkeley Divinity School, Middletown, Conn., U.S.A.

Rev. William Hayes Ward, D.D., 251, Broadway, New York, U.S.A.

Oscar von Lemm, Ph.D., Petersburg.

Miss Nicholl, Llantwit Major, Cowbridge, Glamorganshire.

To be added to the List of Subscribers :—

The Public Library, Toronto, Canada.

The Rev. A. Löwy, at the request of the President, made some remarks on the well-known forgeries now called the Shapira MS. He stated that in the month of August, when he saw the reproduction in the *Athenæum* of some portions of the alleged ancient text, he had no hesitation in mentioning before a large audience that a most daring fraud had been committed by some unscrupulous speculator. The forger had eliminated from the text nearly all those *vavs* and *yods* which serve as *matres lectionis*, in order to bring his work in harmony with ancient Phœnician inscriptions. But he had forgotten to be consistent. For example, *Sihon* was written with a *yod* after the *samech*. The interpolations were suggested by the Samaritan system of garbling the text of the Pentateuch. The innovations introduced by the forger were not simply startling—their absurdity bordered on the ridiculous. As an example, Mr. Löwy observed it could be noticed that the forger, in his search after the sensational, had parodied some of the verses in Deuteronomy, ch. xxvii, where curses are pronounced upon the commission of such and such a sin. The forger had introduced new benedictions by the insertion of phrases in which it is said, "Blessed is he who shall *not*" [commit such and such a sin]. The interpolations were in many instances specimens of bad Hebrew and bad logic, and in all instances specimens of bad faith.

---

Mr. Budge read a communication upon the Fourth Tablet of the Creation Series, relating to the fight between Marduk and Tiamat.

The text which forms the subject of this paper is obtained from fragments of a tablet belonging to the library of Assurbanipal, king of Assyria, and from a large and very important piece of a tablet written in Babylonian. This latter piece (like the fragments of the Deluge tablet) was found by Mr. Rassam, and was brought to England rather more than a year ago. When unpacked the writing was choked up with silica, and this having been removed, a most important addition to our knowledge of the Babylonian mythology and cosmogony was obtained. The colophon states that it was

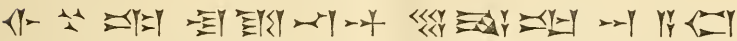
written by a pious Babylonian, called Nahid Marduk, and set up in one of the temples as a thank-offering to the god Nebo for saving the life of the scribe and of his father. Originally the tablet contained one hundred and forty-six lines, and it formed the fourth tablet of the so-called "Creation" series. As is well known, this series related the twelve wonderful deeds which formed the subject of the great Babylonian epic poem, and it is to the narrative of these twelve mighty deeds, as related by their native authors, that we must look for the knowledge necessary for a right understanding of the Babylonian mythology and religion. The subject of the tablet was the fight between Tiamat and the god Marduk. Tiamat was the personification of chaos and disorder; she dwelt in the sea, and was believed to possess horns, hoofs, wings, claws, and a scaly tail. She was a hideous monster who, together with the demons and evil spirits, her allies, warred perpetually against Marduk, the god of light, and the chosen of the gods. The story is told with all the mystic and fanciful adornment of the eastern mind; the idiom is difficult, and for some of the words it is exceedingly hard to find an English equivalent, but the main points of the narrative are certain, and through the whole story there runs a sublime and beautiful feeling of reverence for the gods which is expressed at times in words not remotely distant from those used by the "sweet singer of Israel." It is not improbable that a second and deeper meaning was conveyed to the Babylonian mind by the words of these stories, Tiamat representing wickedness or darkness, and Marduk representing light and righteousness. It is much to be wished that the excavations could be again carried on, for undoubtedly the remaining tablets of this series still lie amid the dust and ruins which mark the spot of old Babylon.

The new Babylonian fragment is $4\frac{7}{8}$ inches long and $3\frac{1}{4}$ wide, and contains forty-two lines of the "obverse" of the tablet, and the last twenty-eight of the "reverse," together with first line of the 5th tablet of the series and the colophon. The text of the colophon is as follows :—

The large fragment of the Assyrian copy was published by Delitzsch in his "Lesestücke," and translations of it have been given by Smith in his "Chaldean Genesis," and Talbot (*Trans. Soc. Bib. Arch.*, V. I, *et seq.*). The story related on the tablet partakes almost of the nature of a play, for a line or two of narrative is given which is followed by others containing meditations upon what has been said. Here and there the narrative breaks out into a pæan of praise, as, for example :—

at - ta - ma kab - ta - ta i - na ilani ra - bu - tum

*Thou too art* { *glorious* / *honourable* } *among the gods great*



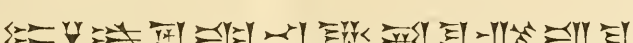
si - mat - ka la - sa - na - an sum - gar - ka D.P. A - num

*thy destiny* (*is*) *unparalleled*, *thy* sumgar *is Anum.*

The meditations above mentioned partake of the nature of a chorus, and appear to have been said or sung in a measured form, both rhyme and alliteration being known and used. The following lines will serve as an example of the measure, and the last one of alliteration also :—

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 3. at-ta-ma | kab-ta-ta | in(a) ilani | ra-bu-tum |
| 4. si-mat-ka | la-sa-nan | sum-gar-ka | Â-num |
| 5. Am-ar-ut | kab-ta-ta | in(a) ilani | ra-bu-tum |
| 6. si-mat-ka | la-sa-nan | sum-gar-ka | Â-num |
| 7. is-tu u | mim-ma-la | in-nin-a | ki-bit-ka |
| 8. sus-ku-u | sus-pu-lu | si-i-lu | ga-at-ka |

Whether the narrative was recited by a priest and the chorus taken up by the others, is not at present certain, but it is not improbable. The Babylonian's trust in his god is beautifully expressed in the words :—

17. 

bi - lum sa tak - lu - ka na - pis - ta - su gi - mil - ma

*O Lord, who trusts to thee, to his soul do thou do good.*

And the use of the word *gimil* here reminds us of its use in Psalm xiii, 6 ; xviii, 20 ; cxvi, 7, &c., where it is used to express the same idea.

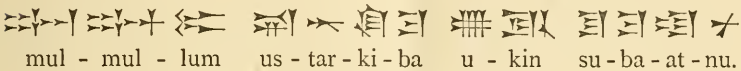
The language of the tablet is most interesting; the verb is generally placed at the beginning of the sentence, and the construction of the sentences themselves is curious. Sometimes a pronoun is added to the verb to give emphasis, as in the line *ana Marduk bukrusunu sunu izzakru*, literally: "to Marduk, their first-born, they, they mentioned." With this compare the emphatic in וּפִגְרֵיכֶם אַתֶּם, Numb. xiv, 32; אָבַד זִכְרָם הֵמָּה׃, Ps. ix, 7. הֲצוֹם צַמְתֻּנִי אָנִי׃, Zech. vii, 5; וְאוֹר עֵינַי גַּם־הֵם אֵין אִתִּי׃, Ps. xxxviii, 11, &c.

The word for father, *abbu*, is spelt with the *b* doubled (as in Chaldee emphatic אַבָּא, Syriac ܐܰܒܳܐ) in singular and plural, the latter form being *abbië* (Syriac ܐܰܒܳܗ̈ܶܐ). The Babylonians certainly pronounced the *b* hard or doubled. The nominative singular was *abbum* (with the mimmation), the construct *abbu* (as in *abbu-su*, "his father"), and compare the forms أَبُو, አቡ ፡, and the form in Syriac, ܐܰܒܳܘ, used before the suffixed personal pronouns. The Syriac, Arabic, and Æthiopic agree with the Babylonian (the forms being ܐܰܒ, ܐܰܒܳܐ, ܐܰܒܳܗ̈ܶܝܢ, ܐܰܒܳܗ̈ܶܐ; أَبٌ, أَبُونَ; and አብ ፡ አበው ፡) in having the hard or doubled *b*; and the New Testament preserves this form also (ἀββᾶ ὁ πατήρ, Mark xiv, 36; Rom. viii, 15; Gal. iv, 6). The Hebrew however keeps the soft *b*, אָב, אָבוֹת, as also the Chaldee in the plural, אֲבָהָן, אֲבָהָתָא. The Syriac grammarians tell us that ܐܒܐ (with soft *b*) means "natural father," but ܐܒܐ (with a hard *b*) "spiritual father" (See Payne Smith, *Thesaurus Syr.*, art. ܐܒ).

The word [illegible] (which Delitzsch, I think, first pointed out to be *Ti'-a-ma-ti*) does not occur in the Babylonian fragment. The other part of the tablet would no doubt throw light on this word, and also show how [illegible] is to be read. Some read *kirbis*, others *bisbis*, and this latter reading appears to be the better of the two. My reasons for thinking so are these. In Psalm xcv, 4, the words אֲשֶׁר בְּיָדוֹ מֶחְקְרֵי־אָרֶץ occur, which are rendered by the Targum: דִּי בִידֵיהּ תָּלִין פִּשְׁפּוּשִׁין דְּאַרְעָא, "in whose hand hang the depths of the earth." Again, in Job xxxviii, 16, the words וּבְחֵקֶר תְּהוֹם הִתְהַלָּכְתָּ are to be found, which are rendered by the Targum: פִּשְׁפּוּשׁ תְּהוֹמָא הֲלֵכְתָּ, "hast thou gone into the

depths of the abyss?" Now פִּשְׁפּוּשִׁין and פִּשְׁפּוּשׁ translate חֵקֶר and מֶחְקְרֵי, it therefore has the meaning of תַּחְתִּיָּה, תַּחְתִּיּוֹת, or *infimus*, *infima*. It is to be observed too that פִּשְׁפּוּשׁ תְּהוֹמָא is the exact equivalent of [illegible] *bis-bis tam-tim*, or *pispis tamtim*, and means "the lowest depths, the inscrutable parts of the deep." This is another instance of a Babylonian word being preserved in the Targums.

Another point of interest in the tablet is line 36, which reads—



mul - mul - lum us - tar - ki - ba u - kin su - ba - at - nu.

*The club he made* { *swing* / *ride* }, *he fixed our seat.*

It occurs in the description of Marduk preparing his weapons for the war with Ti'amat, and the difficulty to me is the words *subat-nu*, "our seat." One would expect *subat-su*, "his seat." The [illegible] may be a mistake for [illegible], but as the tablet was well and carefully written, this possible slip of the pen seems an anomaly. The whole of the text of this fragment will appear in the *Transactions* of the Society, and all may be most thankful to the pious Babylonian who copied the tablet (or paid for its being copied) and placed it in the library of E.ZIDA, one of the temples, κατ' ἐξοχήν, of mighty Babylon.

Theo. G. Pinches.—The exact date when the story was composed it was impossible to say with certainty, but must have been very early. The reason for this supposition was that there are in the British Museum certain fragments of tablets containing explanations of words. These fragments, like other bilingual lists, contained division-lines, marking off the words, and it was found, on examination, that the roots in the Assyrian column corresponded with those of the words, line for line, in some of these legends. Now as there were very few ideographs used in the tablets of the creation-series, these glossaries must have been drawn up to explain only the Akkadian, or rather Sumerian, original. No copies of the Akkadian or Sumerian original itself, however, had as yet been found, and it was not unlikely that it had been already lost at an early period, pointing to a very early date for the composition of these legends.

In reply to a question of Mr. Bertin, Mr. Pinches stated that the names of the gods were almost the only words that were written ideographically.

The name of the so-called "Dragon of the Sea," Bišbiš-ti'amti, was a compound word. The first part was written with the character *kir* or *biš*, twice repeated. Now in one of the duplicates of the tablet said to refer to man's fall, the word was written *Biš-bi-šu*, evidently a Semiticised form, with the *-u* of the nominative case, and as one of the meanings of *biš*, is *rapāšu*,* "to be wide," the meaning of is probably, "the great monster of the sea."† *Bišbišu* would therefore be of Akkadian origin.‡

It was not so certain that the name *Bau*, was identical with the Hebrew בֹּהוּ. In the list of royal names§ occurred that of a queen, who was called, in Akkadian, *Azag-Bau*, rendered in Assyrian by *Bau-êllit*, "Bau is glorious," but chaos or emptiness could hardly be said to be glorious.

George Bertin.—It is a cause of satisfaction to me to see that Mr. Budge has called attention to this too much neglected question of the rhythm in Assyrian. In a short note printed in the *Proceedings* over a year ago, I already noticed the existence of rhythm and rhyme in Akkadian; since then I have given some attention to the question, and arrived at the conclusion that there is to be found in Akkadian every kind of rhyme and rhythm. Alliteration is used to a very large extent, and the poets seem to carry the alliteration to the furthest possible extent: in some verses the consonants are nearly all the same, and call to mind the well-known—

"Round the rugged rocks the ragged rascals ran."

When I spoke of the Akkadian rhythms, my critics at the time said that if it was as stated by me we ought to find traces of it in Assyrian. As my studies have persuaded me, and as just shown by

* See Delitzsch, "Lesestücke," p. 62, 120–1.

† See Delitzsch, "Lesestücke," p. 31, note 184.

‡ *Bišbišu*, however, seems not to have been the word used in the Sumerian original. The group given in the Sumerian glossary above-mentioned is , *ir*, explained by *kirbu*, "middle," and , *erim*, explained by *tâmtim*, "the sea" (the same as *ti'amti*)—in other words, what the Sumerians called , *ir-erim*, "the heart" or "centre of evil," the Assyrians or Babylonians translated by "the middle of the sea," or "the monster of the sea." (*Bišbiš-ti'amti*), the latter probably partly on account of the meaning of *gabru*, "mighty," which also has. (*Cf.* W.A.I., V, pl. 21, l. 42–43, &c.)

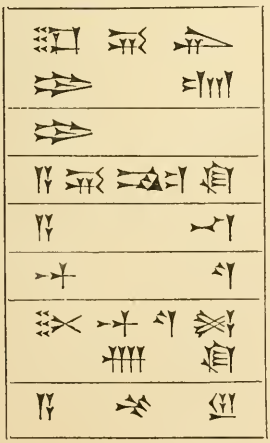
§ *Proceedings*, Jan. 11, 1881, p. 37, last line.

Mr. Budge, the Assyrian poets imitated their Akkadian masters. In his Babylonian texts, Mr. Pinches has published three stanzas of alliterated verses; the scribe, to preserve the alliteration to the eye as well as to the ear, has written the name of the goddess Istar without the prefix 𒀭. One thing must surprise everyone, it is that the character of the Akkadian and Assyrian poetry has not been detected before. I should not like to prolong these observations, and give any example to support my statements, wishing besides to reserve them for a future communication. To tell the truth, I delayed it, waiting in vain for a long-promised study on the Egyptian poetry; but I may state now that I have come to the conclusion that the origin of the Arabic poetical system must be looked for in Akkadian.

Remarks were added by Rev. A. Löwy, W. St. C. Boscawen, Thomas Tyler, E. A. Budge, and the President.

## A communication was read by Mr. Pinches on Babylonian Art, illustrated by Mr. H. Rassam's latest Discoveries.

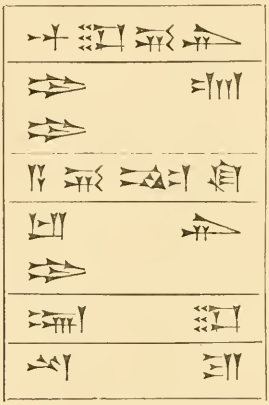
This paper was a short description of Mr. H. Rassam's latest discoveries at Abu-habbah, or Sepharvaim, and consisted of remarks upon the more interesting of the objects of art brought to England by the able explorer. The most important (from a historical and antiquarian point of view) was a small egg-shaped object, of beautifully veined marble, pierced lengthwise with a rather large hole, and engraved with an inscription in seven lines (two double), containing the name of Sargon of Agade (3800 B.C.), of which the following is a transcription into later Babylonian, with a translation:—



| | |
|---|---|
| Šar-ga-ni | *Sargon* |
| lugal-laǧ | *the king,* |
| šar | *king of* |
| A-ga-de (ki) | *Agade,* |
| a-na | *to* |
| (ilu) Šamaš | *Samas,* |
| in Sipar (ki) | *in Sippara,* |
| a-mu-ru | *I have dedicated.* |

"I, Sargon the king, king of Agade, have dedicated [this] to Samas in Sippara."

This most interesting object is the oldest which the British Museum possesses, for the date of Sargon, according to the cylinder of Nabonidus, of which an account was read before this Society by Mr. Pinches in November last, is as early as 3800 B.C. The inscription presents some points of analogy with that upon a cylinder in the possession of M. de Clercq, and described by M. J. Ménant, the well-known Assyriologist, in his work, "Recherches sur la Glyptique orientale" (Paris, 1883), p. 73. The inscription there given, which is in Akkadian, is as follows :—



| | |
|---|---|
| D.P. Sar-ga-ni* | *Sargon* |
| lugal-laḡ | *the king,* |
| lugal | *king of* |
| A-ga-de (ki). | *Agade,* |
| Ib- ni- šarru | *Ibnî-šarru* |
| dup-sara | *the scribe* |
| ura-zu | *thy servant.* |

This interesting cylinder-seal, which bears on each side of the inscription a representation of the hero Gišṭubar, kneeling on one knee, and holding a vase from which, in three streams, a liquid is coming forth, and being drunk by a bull, which holds up its head with open mouth to receive the fluid, seems to have belonged to a scribe named Ibnî-šarru,† who, as one employed by the king, called himself, therefore, the servant of the king. The ending, "thy servant," is by no means uncommon on the cylinders of the royal scribes.

From the spelling of the name, or (D.P.) *Sar-ga-ni*, it is easy to see how it is that we get the form סַרְגּוֹן, Sargon, rather than סַרְגֵּן (Šarru-gên). *Gani* is evidently

* M. Ménant has lost the chief point of interest in this valuable inscription. He reads the name *Šá-ga-ni-šar-lukh.* See below.

† The meaning of this name is, "The king has made (me)."

the early form of the Akkadian root which appears, later on, as *gi-na*, "to fix."* *Sar-gi-na* is the usual way of writing the name in later times. The Greek Ἀρκεάνος, which evidently comes from the Assyrian form *Šarru-ukîn*, has lost, like the more corrupt Ἀρνᾶ of the Septuagint, the sibilant with which both the Assyrian and Akkadian forms begin, replacing them by the soft breathing. The author then made a few remarks upon the characters composing the name, pointing out that they were very old in form, and, though showing distinct wedges, yet approached very nearly the outline forms seen in other inscriptions from Sippara.† An inscription of Narâm-Sin, son of Sargon, found by M. T. Fresnel at Babylon (near the Nil canal), and afterwards lost in the Tigris, seemed, judging from the copy published in W.A.I. I, pl. 3, No. VII, to have been written in the same style. This inscription, which is in Semitic Babylonian, is as follows: "Narâm-Sin, king of the four regions, . . . . of . . . rag and Makan"). (George Smith: "conqueror of Apirak and Magan.")

One of the most interesting of the inscribed objects of minor importance was an oblong object, the greater part of which was of a dark-green stone, rather flat, rounded at the broader end, and having also the corners rounded off. It tapers gradually from the broader

* Another early cylinder in the Museum at New York, described by M. J. Ménant in the *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, gives us the similarly-formed name of "Bin-gani, the king, the son of the king,"—perhaps of the same dynasty.

† With regard to the word , the author was at first inclined to transcribe the characters composing it by the late Babylonian , *lugal-la*, regarding the as a turned . This, however, is, after all, hardly likely, and it is, perhaps, better to transcribe, with M. Ménant, this latter character by (in Assyrian ). If this be correct, *gallaǵ* shows the fuller form of the root *gala*, in Akkadian "great," the word *lugala* meaning "great man." There is also another explanation, however, possible, and that is, that the word "king" ( ) being repeated twice, has another meaning in the first case, and the character must be regarded as indicating a different phonetic complement, and therefore a different word. In W.A.I. II, 48, l. 40, *ab*, we have the old Babylonian form of the character for king given twice, with the pronunciation of *Dadru*(*m*), explained as "SARGON (*Sargina*), king of justice, pronouncer of justice, pronouncer of happiness." It is possible, therefore, that, as the character has also the value of *ruǵ* (*ruḫ*), this is the value to be used here. The transcription would in this case be "*Šar-ga-ni Dad-ru*(*ǵ*), *lugal A-ga-de* (*ki*)," &c. Whether this latter explanation be the correct one or not, that the surname of *Dadru*(*m*) was applied to Sargon of Agade is clear from the passage here quoted.

end, and is fixed into an ornamental socket of bronze, engraved or cast in the form of a ram's head, the eyes of which were inlaid with some white composition, the nose terminating in a small ring, from which something had formerly hung. Close to the bronze part, on one of the broader surfaces, are six lines of inscription, in two columns, of which the following is a translation :—

"To Samas, king of heaven and earth, [his] king, Tugulti-Mer king of Ḫâna, son of Ilu-šaba, for the [safety] of his land, and his (own) protection, he has given (this instrument)."

This monument is most interesting, as it shows the renown of the shrine of Samas at Sippara,—a renown so great that the king of Ḫâna, near Karkemish, thought it of some use to make a present to the temple to gain the favour of the god there enshrined. The author pointed out also, that, as shown by such names as Ilu-bi'di or Iau-bi'di, the distinctly Semitic names Tugulti-Mer* and Ilu-šaba proved that the language of the country did not differ materially from Assyrian. As the inscription is written in the Assyrian style, with a few archaic forms, it is probable that it was carved by Assyrian engravers, and the monument therefore belongs, most likely, to the reign of Shalmaneser, king of Assyria, about 850 B.C.

Another most interesting monument is a lion's head carved in white limestone, originally exceedingly hard, but now changed to chalk by the action of fire. This work of art, the execution of which was most vigorous, was probably originally intended for an ornament for a chair or similar piece of furniture. The mouth, which was open threateningly, showed the well-formed teeth. Above the upper lip were, on each side, five curved sunken grooves, which were formerly inlaid with some material, probably to enable the long feelers or whiskers to be inserted. Wavy grooves for inlaying were also to be seen above the nose. The eyes were inlaid, and the holes for the insertion of the long hairs forming the eyebrows still remained. In the middle of the forehead there had originally been inserted the little winged figure emblematic of the god Assur. Round the rim of the neck is the following inscription in Assyrian characters :—

"Sennacherib, king of multitudes . . . . Esarhaddon his son . . . ."

The date of this fine specimen of Assyrian workmanship is there-

* It is uncertain whether we ought to read *me-ir* or *me-ni*, but the characters lend themselves better to the former. *Mer* is evidently the same as *Me-ru*, found on the case-tablets, the Akkadian name of Rimmon.

fore about 685 B.C., and is a memorial of the conquest of Babylonia by Sennacherib, who seems, judging from the above inscription, to have set his son Esarhaddon on the throne of Babylonia in his own lifetime.

The author, touching on two or three other specimens of late art (among which was a beautifully-carved calf's head in ivory, also, most likely, of Assyrian workmanship), spoke of several fragments of statues, evidently of Samas, the sun-god, and his attendant deities These figures had the peculiarity of being dressed in long robes of some material having long wavy hair. This material was probably goatskin, which, as was known from the bilingual texts, was regarded as a kind of sacred material. These robes seem to have been made by sewing together long stripes of goatskin in such a way that, when put on, the effect was that of a garment flounced all over. Almost all the divine personages represented on the cylinder-seals of the earlier period were dressed in a similar robe, and it was one of the distinguishing marks of a god or goddess.

An illustration of this style of art was given in one of the plates prepared for publication in the *Transactions*. It was a small seated figure, the head and shoulders lost, holding in the right hand, against the breast, a cup. The left hand and arm were visible inside the goatskin covering, which seemed to be held in its position by the wearer, the robe being evidently rather stiff.

As the author had remarked when Mr. Rassam's most excellent paper on his discoveries was discussed in March last, there was a difference between the art of Sippara and that of Lagaš (Tel-lo). The former was more careless, and wanted, in many cases, the truth to nature which the latter possessed. The Sipparite sculptor, however, was often, doubtless, hampered by the unsuitable shape of the material which he had to work upon.

Between the earlier and the later art there was a marked difference. Thick-set figures took the place of the early slim and elegant forms; but the later style, though not so beautiful, certainly possessed more vigour. Yet the later art was affected by the earlier, and perhaps, indeed, sprang from it. The distinction, however, all lies in difference of race. Akkadian art was, like the people themselves, polished, refined, and graceful. The art of the Semitic race, into which they seem afterwards to have merged, had that character of power which was also the principal characteristic of the people themselves.

Remarks were added by Mr. H. Rassam and the President.

The following Communication has been received from the Rev. Henry C. Reichardt:—

The cylinder exhibited at the Meeting held 5th December, 1882, is of opaque carnelian, about one inch in length and half an inch in diameter, drilled through the middle lengthways, as is usual. It was acquired by me, about the middle of January of the present year, from a native silversmith of Damascus, who told me that he obtained it from a peasant who came from one of the villages situated in the northern parts of the Lebanon.

The figures, which are not cut deeply in the stone, represent a male figure with a long beard having a kind of mural head-gear, and dressed in a long robe, standing between two lions, which he holds out at arm's length, apparently having seized them by the mane.

Behind one of the lions is an object the upper portion of which is surrounded with a series of rays terminating in round knobs. This gives to the figure, at first sight, the appearance of a tree, but what I take to be two hands and arms are represented, and therefore I identify it with a Phœnician idol, called in Hebrew characters בל אפך—the Baal of Aphaka. Above, and slightly to one side of this inscription, is the crescent moon.

We have here then the tutelar deity of Aphaka, a city of the Lebanon, well known in ancient times on account of its sacred shrine. Cinyras,* the father of Adonis, was considered to have been the builder of its famous and evil-renowned temple, where the most lascivious rites were practised in honour of Adonis. He, it seems, is nothing more than the Baal of the Old Testament, who often assumes names after certain localities where he was adored as the tutelar deity, or where he had a well-known and revered shrine, as, for instance, the Baal of Ekron, or Hermon, or Zor, *i.e.*, Tyre.

The Phœnicians, as well as the Canaanites,—the ancient inhabitants of Palestine,—considered this deity as representing the male and female principle conjoined. Baal represented by the sun the active or creative power, and Baalti represented by the moon the passive or preserving power in nature. This idea will explain the

* Lucian, "De Syr. Diæ," § 9.

half-moon being placed above the tree-like idol, and the latter being adorned with the rays of the sun as together representing the one deity—the Baal of Aphaka.

The word בל is contracted from the complete form בעל, and was already in use at the time of Isaiah (xlvi, 1) and Jeremiah (l, 2). The LXX uses Βέελ very often instead of Βάαλ, whereas the Babylonian Bel is always written Βῆλ or Βῆλος.

Thanks were returned for these communications.

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NOTE.—A friend has kindly suggested to me that the inscription may be read as בלאתן, *i.e.*, בֵּל אֵיתָן, ὁ βελιτανᾶς, or ὁ βῆλος ὁ ἀρχαῖος. The word אֵיתָן happens to be written twice in the Bible without י, viz., Job, xxxiii, 19, and Micah, vi, 2.

I cannot help thinking that Mr. Reichardt is wrong in supposing that the two pendant ornaments from the tree are arms and hands; they are simply the fruit so commonly represented in this position on cylinders. The "idol" itself appears to me to be nothing more than the "sacred tree," of which various forms have come down to us upon the ancient Babylonian and Assyrian seals.—W. H. RYLANDS.

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The following communication, referring to the Cuneiform Tablets of Kappadokia, has been received from Professor Sayce:—

The number of Kappadokian cuneiform tablets, the discovery of which we owe to the sagacity of Mr. Pinches, has been increased by five others, more or less perfect, which Mr. W. M. Ramsay purchased last year at Kaisariyeh. They not only indicate the locality of the library to which they belong, but considerably improve our chances of deciphering the language in which they are written. The characters in which they are inscribed are, unfortunately, not always easy to read; they are derived from one of the later Babylonian running hands of the age of Nebuchadnezzar, but the forms assumed by some of them are very peculiar. I have gone over two of the texts with Mr. Pinches, and though in a few cases we differ as to the form or value of a character, our readings on the whole are the same. Confidence may therefore be put in what is guaranteed by so practised an eye as that of Mr. Pinches.

Mr. Pinches first noticed that one of the texts seems to be in Assyrian. At all events, it contains the specifically Assyrian words *niskul*, "we weighed;" *ina*, "in;" and *ana*, "for." I naturally thought therefore that the whole text was in the Assyrian language. But I soon found that the nouns were apparently not only not Assyrian, but not Semitic. As the tablet appears to be a record of the expenses of a temple, we may conclude that Assyrian was the official language of the high priest, but that the names of the objects he registered, when not expressed by ideographs, were not translated into the foreign tongue. We may compare the *computi* of mediæval corporations in which words like "quar" ("quarry"), with the French article *le* prefixed, are freely inserted in the midst of official Latin.

All attempts at deciphering the new language which these Kappadokian tablets have brought to light must start from the text I have just referred to, and I will therefore give my copy of it here, transliterated and, where possible, translated. The tablet is of red clay, and is unfortunately broken :—

R. I. Obverse.

1. V ma-na VI SUSSANA DHU
   5 *manehs* 6 (*and*) *one-third shekels*
2. AN-NA i-na a-be-im
   *of lead* *in* . . . . .
3. ni-is-ku-ul V BAR DHU
   *we weighed* (*paid*); 5 (*and*) *a half shekels*
4. AN-NA i-na a-ma-as
   *of lead* *in* . . . . . .
5. ni-is-ku-ul XIV BAR DHU AN-NA
   *we weighed*; 14 (*and*) *a half shekels of lead*
6. i-na na-khu-ur ni-is-ku-(ul)
   *in* . . . . . *we weighed*;
7. III DHU AN-NA lu-śi-im
   3 *shekels* *of lead* *unworked* (?)
8. ni-is-ku-ul III DHU (AN-NA)
   *we weighed*; 3 *shekels* *of lead*
9. ni - ri - im ni - is - ku - (ul)
   *worked* (?) *we weighed.*

[Lacuna.]

REVERSE.

1. AN-NA . . . . . .
*lead* . . . . . .

2. a-na ga-di(?)-im ▼
*for* . . . . . .

3. ni - is - ku - ul ▼ VI pir DHU
*we weighed;* 6 (*and*) *a quarter* (?) *shekels*

4. AN - NA BIT* am-ri-im
*of lead* *of the house* . . . . . .

5. ni-is-ku-ul V BAR DHU AN - NA
*we weighed;* 5 (*and*) *a half shekels* *of lead*

6. i-na ga-at um-ma
*at* *interest* (?) *in all* (?)

7. ni - khi - ma (?) ▼ sak ni el ki
*we received* (?) . . . . . .

8. SANIBI ma - na ▬ IV DHU
*two-thirds of a maneh* *and* 4 *shekels*

9. AN-NA i-na
*of lead* *in*

10. ša-sak-ki-im ni-is-ku-ul
. . . . . *we weighed.*

ON THE EDGE.

1. (. . . . ma-) na IV SANIBI DHU AN-NA
. . . . *manehs,* $4\frac{2}{3}$ *shekels of lead*

2. (i-na) . . . . ga ni - is - ku - ul
*in* . . . . . *we weighed.*

Here an upright wedge will be observed to be sometimes used as a divider between words. We meet with it on other Kappadokian tablets. The termination of the words *abeim*, *luśim*, *nirim*, *gadim*, *amrim* and *sasakkim* should also be noticed; we find the same terminations in the two proper names of the Paris tablet, Riśim or Turriśim, and Batrim, as well as in the name of the Kilikian king Pikhirim mentioned by Shalmaneser. *Sak-ni-el-ki* may "signify

* Or GAN, "enclosure."

"in all," and *ni-khi-ma* (?) is possibly the *ni-khi-ma* of R. II, line 7.* *Gat* and *umma* both occur on other tablets.

The second text is quite perfect, and is written in minute but well-cut characters on a small tablet of flesh-coloured clay. This text is in Kappadokian throughout, and consequently but little of it can be deciphered. It runs thus :—

R. II. Obverse.

1. XIII ban (?)† DHU D.P. UT a šu me ga
*Thirteen (and) a half (?) shekels of silver* . . . . . .
2. a-na lu‡ lib-bu-ul-ma
*which* . . . . . .
3. VA zu§ ta akh zi me ▼ khi ni
*and* . . . . . .
4. i - khi - ma tur - ga ga - at
*has given* (?) . . . . . .
5. qa me ur ir ku um-ma
6. a-na ša lal la (?) ar
7. e khi ma XV DHU D.P. UT
8. as - šu ‖ - ul ▼ a - din (?) - a - ta
9. XV DHU ▼ a - na ša - ki - ma
10. i - a - khi ▼ šu - ku - ul
11. XX ma - na SAK ba ni dub
20 *standard manehs* . . . . . .
12. ga mis ša i na |
13. pi - ikh šu ša na ▼ a - ta - khi na - ma - ni
14. i - li - ga - ga

Reverse.

1. um - ma a - ri (?) ¶ i - khi - ma
2. a - na ma - nu ** (?) - ki a - ri (?)

* I have distinguished the tablets by the capital letters R, P, and L; R signifying those which have been brought to England by Mr. Ramsay, P the Paris tablet now in the Louvre, and L the tablet now in the British Museum, which led to the discovery of the Kappadokian language. The Roman numerals attached to the letter R denote the tablets purchased by Mr. Ramsay in the order in which they are referred to in this communication.

† Mr. Pinches identifies the character with *lum*.

‡ Pinches : *ku*. § Pinches : . ‖ Pinches : *ku*.

¶ . ** Perhaps *tar*.

3. ku - ku - zi a - ri (?) ki na - ra - am
4. VA AN UT tab - ba - i ki - ga - ma
*and the sun-god* . . . . . .
5. a - na ma - nu (?) - ki a - ri (?) ki - ga - ma
6. XXXIII ma - na SAK i - li - ga
7. ni - khi - ma a - na ku bir (?) ga . .
8. a - na BIT a - bu - ša - ki
9. i a - ri (?) e - mu - ki
10. a - ru ma SAK - a - ta
11. khu (?) - ki - ma a - na SAK .
12. . . I BAR ma - na - ta D.P. UT
*for . . I and a half manehs of silver.*

EDGE.

1. za - din (?)- a - ta D.P. UT VA . . .
*for the offerings of silver and . . .*
2. ša - ki - ma i - a - khi
3. a khir ša khu śu ni
4. li bir (?) nu (?)

We gather from the inscription (L) first brought to light by Mr. Pinches, that *-ma* is a verbal suffix denoting the third person, and *-ta* the termination of a case, while *-a* is the plural ending. The same inscription also makes it pretty clear that *ana* must be the relative pronoun. *Umma* occurs several times in these texts, and *nama* (L, Obv. 3) seems to mean "young." It is found again in a fragment (R iii) obtained at Kaisariyeh by Mr. Ramsay, where it is attached to the ideograph of "sheep," followed by the plural suffix *-a*. The fragment also contains the word *za-din* (?). It reads :—

OBVERSE.

1. XII um . . .
2. . . . BAR na - ma . . .
. . . (*and*) *a half young* . . .
3. II (?) LU - a za - din (?) . . .
2 (?) *sheep a gift* . . .
4. VII LU-a na-ma um (?) . . .
7 *young sheep* . . . . . .
5. a-khi šu nu (?) khi ra . . .
6. D.P. UT ki ba . . .
*silver* . . . . . .
7. II ma - na . . .
2 (*and*) *five-sixths manehs* . . .
8. gur - ma gap - pi . . .

REVERSE.

1. za - ba - gi a - na . . . . .
*the* . . . . . *which* . . . . .

The rest is too mutilated to be worth transcribing.

A more complete tablet (R iv) brought home by Mr. Ramsay begins on the reverse with the word *za-din* (?). The obverse is unfortunately for the most part gone, only the ends of the first eight lines remaining. At the end of line 4 we find *(a)-pi-khi-šu*, and at the end of line 5, *šu-nu* (?) *ša ma-na*. The last four lines read :—

10. lib - bu - ul 𒁹 a - na - tim
11. . . . . ni 𒁹 ni - khab - ba - at
12. . . šu ni 𒁹 XX ma - na
13. D.P. UT 𒁹 šu - un - ga makh (?) am (?)

REVERSE.

1. za - din (?) ir - gal 𒁹 im - khu - ur
2. um - ma ša ma ba
3. II SUSSANA ma - na D.P. UT
4. lib - bu - la ba vâ e du um
5. ša vâ EN - NAM 𒁹 dub - bu - um
6. ša ga me ir 𒁹 a - pi - khi - šu
7. ma - ga - ri - im 𒁹 i - ba - ka
8. a - ma la (?) ut me šu
9. ga - ru - um za - din (?) ir - gal |
10. hu - śi - ir šu 𒁹 a - pi - pi |
11. a - me - ša - am 𒁹 i - ri - tim
12. a - ku (?) - hu ir 𒁹 be - lu - kak

EDGE.

. . . . . am (?) ma - na šu - nu

The last of Ramsay's tablets (R v) is a large broken one of light-coloured clay. Its mutilated condition allows us to pick out a word only here and there. Thus on the obverse we have *um-(ma)* (l. 1), iii *ma-na* (l. 3), DHU-*ta a-na* (l. 7), *i-na* 𒌋𒁹 𒀀 (l. 8), *a-sir* (l. 10), *(ma)-na* D.P. UT *is-ba-a* (l. 11). On the reverse we find *na-ma a-bat-at ga-ri-im* (l. 4), *i-khi-ma* (l. 8), XX *a-na* V DHU D.P. UT (l. 9), *(ga)- ri-im zi-ip* (l. 12), *a-pi-gi* (ll. 7 and 15), *šu-ul-mu* (l. 16).

The following is a transcription of the Paris tablet (P), with the corrections made by Mr. Pinches in his published copy of it after a personal examination of the original :—

OBVERSE.

1. a - khar AN UT a - na
2. tur - ri - śi - im NIS TAB ma - nu - ba - am
3. khab - ba - at - ni a - khi - ma ba sa sur
4. um - ma a - khar AN UT - ma
5. I ma - na XI DHU D.P. (UT)
6. ri - ik - za - am hu su a dhu u
7. ku - u - gi (?) i - li - ga
8. ri - ik - zi - im
9. na - akh (?) ri - ik - za - am
10. ma - nu (?) SAK ša šu me a be a
11. a - khi na - ma dub
12. um - ma i - ri - šu um - ma

REVERSE.

1. ta - khi EN - NAM
2. a - na a - pi - am
3. a - ni a bi (?)
4. qi (?) NIS dub - bi ni šu (?)
5. NIS TAB gal a - khi - ni a - khi - ma
6. ☆ ba - at - ri - im
7. ša a sur khab bu khi ni
8. ni - khi - in
9. ☆ a - sur - gal
10. NIS TAB lal di ip
11. ☆ dan - a - sir
12. NIS TAB a - sur is - ta
13. gal

*Akhar* may be the same as *akhir* on the edge of the small tablet from Kaisariyeh. At all events, it seems to mean "a deposit," the text relating to some sum of money which "Turriśim the companion" had given into the keeping of the sun-god. I infer from this that the library from which the tablets have come formed part of the temple of the sun-god, and that this accounts for the character of them. NIS TAB is a compound ideograph signifying "companion," and in

lines 10 and 12 of the Reverse it seems to be used of women. Nis *dubbi* in line 4 may be "scribe," while EN-NAM is "governor." *Umma*, it will be noticed, is always used where the contents of a tablet are summed up, or a paragraph commences, so that it must mean something like "now," "in fine." That the final *ni* of *khabbat-ni* must be the suffix of the accusative is clear from the expression *akhi-ni akhi-ma* in Rev. 5, where the verb is used with a substantive of cognate meaning, while *akhi* stands alone in Obv. 11. The same suffix is found in *nama-ni*, "a child," R ii, Obv. 13. Here it is followed by *iliga-ga*, though *iliga* occurs in Rev. 6, as well as in the Obverse of P 7.

Another suffix is *-ki*, which is found in *manu* (?) *ki* by the side of *manu* (?), and I have already spoken of the nominal *-ta* and the verbal *-ma*. Possibly we have prefixes in *ni-khabbat* in R iv, Obv. 11, and *ma-garim*, R iv, Rev. 7. At any rate, *i* seems to be a prefix in *i-ari* (?), R ii, Rev. 9; and *i-akhi* or *yakhi* in R ii, Obv. 10, and Edge 2, is evidently the same word as *akhi*. Perhaps, however, we have here only a difference of pronunciation, the more correct form being *yakhi*, which has produced *akhi* on the one side, and *ikhi* on the other.

Just as we found that non-Assyrian words were introduced into our first text, the framework of which was nevertheless Assyrian, so, on the other hand, we find Assyrian technical terms introduced as loan-words into non-Assyrian texts. Thus, if Mr. Pinches is right, we should have *anaku* ("13½ shekels of silver Asumega has entrusted to me"?), and *askul* in R ii, Obv. 2, 8; and, in any case, *sukul* in line 10 is the Assyrian word for "payment." *Ina*, however, two lines further on, cannot be the Assyrian preposition, since it ends a sentence. The same indication of Assyrian influence is to be discovered in the name of the Assyrian god Assur (P 7, 9, 12 Rev.);—indeed, one of the women mentioned in the Paris tablet bears the Assyrian name of Assur-rabu;—as well as in the use of the Assyrian mode of writing.

Peculiarities in the Kappadokian system of cuneiform are the dividing wedge to which I have already referred, the horizontal lines which are drawn between each line of writing, and the upright line or bar at the end of a sentence. The last two peculiarities are also found in the rude cuneiform inscription discovered near Amasia, and now at Kaisariyeh (about which see the *Proceedings* for Dec. 5, 1882), as well as in the Hittite inscriptions.

P.S.—Further study of a rubbing of the inscription from the neighbourhood of Amasia, referred to above, has enabled me to improve my reading of it. It runs as follows :—

1. SI D.P. D.P. Tar-mes-a-me (?)-ti-si SAR
*Before* *Tar-mes-ametis* *the king*

2. MAT Gu - za - na * si me qa
*of the land of Gozan* *sitting* (?)

3. me - li AL Ka - an - ab
*within* (?) *the city of Kanab*

4. UN ar - te - e - pal
*the prisoners* (?)

5. e - ri - me |
*came* (?).

The last two lines, however, may be in the singular, since only one captive is represented in the sculpture as being touched by the monarch's spear, and so signify "the prisoner came," or "knelt."

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The following description has been kindly furnished to me by Mr. John Holmes, of Leeds, to whom also I am indebted for a knowledge of the stone which is now preserved in the Museum of the Leeds Philosophical Society.

It was given by the late Sheik of the Samaritans at Nablus to the Rev. Joseph Hammond some fifteen or twenty years ago, with a view of its safe preservation in England. It is of hard alabaster or limestone, some portion being decayed with age. The height is 16 inches, the width 14 inches, and the thickness $2\frac{1}{4}$ inches.—W. H. RYLANDS.

QUEENS' COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE,
8 *October*, 1883.

MY DEAR SIR,

I have examined the Samaritan tablet of which Mr. Holmes sent you an impression. It is very similar to one described years ago by Professor Roediger in the *Hall. Allgem. Literatur-Zeitung*, 1845, no. 231, p. 658, and again, from fresh copies, by Blau and Rosen in the *Z. d. D. M. G.*, 1859, Bd xiii, p. 275, and 1860, Bd xiv, p. 621.

Both tablets exhibit the decalogue, in an abbreviated form, and were intended to be set up in some Samaritan synagogue. In the slab at Leeds several lines are wanting at the beginning. What is legible, from line 2 onwards, may be read and supplemented thus :—

(2) [כבד · את · אביך ·] ואת · א[מך : לא תרצח :]
(3) [לא · ת]נאף : לא · [תגנב :]
(4) [לא · תע]נה · ברעך · [עד · שקר :]
(5) [לא · ת]חמד · בית · ר[עך :]
(6) [לא · ת]חמד · אשת · רע[ך :]
(7) [ובנית · שם ·] מזבח · ל[יהוה · אלהיך :]
(8) וכתבת · על · האבנ[ים · את · כל · דברי ·]
(9) התורה · הזאת · בא[ר · היטב :]

---

(10) [תורה · צו]ה · לנו · משה · [מורשה · קהלת · יעקב :]

(2) *Honour thy father* and *thy* mo*ther*. *Thou shalt do no murder.*
(3) *Thou shalt not* commit adultery. *Thou shalt* not *steal.*
(4) *Thou shalt not* bear *false witness* against thy neighbour.
(5) *Thou shalt not* covet the house of *thy* neigh*bour.*
(6) *Thou shalt not* covet the wife of *thy* neighbour.

[Exod. xx. 8–17.]

(7) *And thou shalt build there* an altar unto Je*hovah thy God.*
(8) And thou shalt write upon the stone*s all the words of* this law *very* plain*ly.*

[Deut. xxvii. 5, 8.]

---

(10) Moses *command*ed unto us *a law, an inheritance for the assembly of Jacob.* [Deut. xxxiii. 4.]

Of the last line nothing is legible but the letters ה · לנו · משה, and I did not at once remember the passage, but Dr. Schiller-Szinessy recognised it instantly.

It is difficult to say what the age of such a monument may be, but it is not improbably from 300 to 400 years old, perhaps even older.

Yours very truly,
WM WRIGHT.

Queens' College, Cambridge,
10 *November*, 1883.

The accompanying photograph, which has reached me from the East, represents a group of busts and inscriptions found at Palmyra. They are all of the funereal class.

1. The upper inscription on the right I read thus :—

| | |
|---|---|
| חבל אלהשא | *Alas! Alāhshā* |
| רבא בר מקימו | *the elder, son of Muḳīm,* |
| לבידא אלהשא | *to Baidā, (son of) Alāhshā,* |
| צעדי | *(son of) Ṣa'dī.* |

The only letter which is at all doubtful is the first in the third line. If I am right in taking it for a ל, the stone was set up by one Alāhshā, called for distinction's sake "the elder," son of Muḳīm, in commemoration of his grandfather Baidā, son of Alāhshā, son of Ṣa'dī. This inscription must be closely connected with no. 70 in De Vogüé's *Syrie Centrale, Inscriptions Sémitiques*, where M., son of B., son of A., son of Ṣ., is mentioned (pp. 50, 51). As to the position of חבל at the beginning, compare the inscription published by Sachau in the *Z. d. D. M. G.*, Bd xxxv., p. 746.

2. The next inscription to the left is the tombstone of a lady of the same family. It appears to be entire, though the name of the deceased is not given. I read :—

| | |
|---|---|
| אתת מקימו | *The wife of Muḳīm,* |
| בר אלהשא | *son of Alāhshā,* |
| בר מקימו | *son of Muḳīm,* |
| צעדי | *son of Ṣa'dī.* |

אתת stands by assimilation for אנתת, as in Syriac MSS. we sometimes find ܐܬܬܐ for ܐܢܬܬܐ.

3. Of the third inscription to the left I can only make out a letter here and there. The stone seems to be a good deal injured, and it is not well placed for being photographed with the rest.

4. From the head in the centre the inscription has been broken away.

5. The bust on the right has a faint inscription, which I cannot fully decipher. I see the name of זבדא, *Zabdā*, in the second line.

6. The large bilingual inscription is unfortunately much injured. Of the Palmyrene portion I can only read, in the first line, the name of *Julius Aurelius*, יוליס אורליס, whose native appellation of אוטדאשי (if I have read it rightly) is obscure; and in the second line the words קברא דנה, *this tomb*. Observe the dotted ר in both words. The Greek portion enables us to say that the monument was restored by the said Julius Aurelius אוטדאשי and his brother Julius Hermeias, at their own expense, for themselves, their children, and their grandchilden, as well as for the children of their brother Maënas (מעני ?), in the month of Lôos, A. Gr. 548 (A.D. 237). The spelling τειμή for τιμή is usual in inscriptions from this district. What is legible to me I transcribe, separating the words.

. . . . . ΚΟΙΝΩΝΟΝ . . .
. . . . . ΤΟ ΕΝ ΤΩ ΑΝΑ . . .
. . . . . Ε ΤΟΥ ΜΝΗΜΕΙΟ[Υ]
. . . Ν ΙΟΥΛΙΟΝ ΕΡΜΕΙΑΝ Α-
[Δ]ΕΛΦΟΝ ΑΥΤΟΥ Ο ΑΜΦΟ-
ΤΕΡΟΙ ΟΙΚΟΔΟΜΗΣΑΝΤΕΣ
ΑΝΕΝΕΩΣΑΝ ΕΞ ΙΔΙΩΝ ΕΑΥ-
ΤΟΙΣ ΚΑΙ ΥΙΟΙΣ ΚΑΙ ΥΙΩΝΟΙΣ
ΚΑΙ ΕΙΣ ΤΕΙΜΗΝ ΥΙΩΝ ΜΑΕ-
ΝΑ ΑΔΕΛΦΟΥ ΑΥΤΩΝ ΜΗ-
ΝΙ ΛΩΩ ΤΟΥ Η̅Μ̅Φ̅ ΕΤΟΥΣ.

Wm Wright.

---

A beautiful Palmyrene monument is in the possession of Mr. Vassif Arthur Clician, of 46 Portland Place. It is sepulchral, and the accompanying inscription reads thus :—

| | |
|---|---|
| אקמא | *Aḳmē* |
| ברת | *daughter of* |
| חבזי | *Ḥabbāzī.* |
| חבל | *Ḥbl.* |

*Aḳme* is the Greek name Ἀκμή. The pronunciation of the father's name is uncertain. The word חבל has already been treated of in our Journal.

The above inscription has been reproduced from a paper impression by Professor Sachau, of Berlin, in the *Z. d. D. M. G.*, Bd xxxv., p. 736. The monument was then "in the possession of an Arab of Palmyra," where Professor Sachau saw it and took the impression. See also the remarks of Professor Noeldeke in the *Z. d. D. M. G.*, Bd xxxvi., p. 665.

I may add that one of Professor Sachau's inscriptions from Palmyra, *Z. d. D. M. G.*, Bd. xxxv., p. 737, exactly confirms my reading of the South Shields Bilingual. It runs thus :—

| | |
|---|---|
| שלמת | *Shālmath* |
| בת | *the freed-* |
| חרי | *woman of* |
| בגרז | *Bagoraz (?).* |
| חבל | *Ḥbl.* |

Professor Sachau has produced evidence from a Syriac Book of Laws that ܒܪ ܚܐܪܐ was used in the sense of *libertus.*

Wm Wright.

Queens' College, Cambridge,
27 *October*, 1883.

N.B.—The plates of these monuments will be issued with the next part of the *Proceedings.*—W.H.R.

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The next Meeting of the Society will be held at 9, Conduit Street, Hanover Square, W., on Tuesday, December 4th, 1883, at 8 p.m., when the following papers will be read :—

I. H. Rassam :—"Biblical Nationalities in their primitiveness, and as they exist at present."

II. Dr. J. Peters :—"The Babylonian Origin of the Phœnician Alphabet."

## THE FOLLOWING BOOKS ARE REQUIRED FOR THE LIBRARY OF THE SOCIETY.

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BOTTA, Monuments de Ninive. 5 vols., folio. 1847–1850.
PLACE, Ninive et l'Assyrie, 1866–1869. 3 vols., folio.
BRUGSCH-BEY, Grammaire Démotique. 1 vol., folio.
——————— Geographische Inschriften Altaegyptische Denkmaeler. Vols. I—III (Brugsch).
——————— Recueil de Monuments Égyptiens, copiés sur lieux et publiés par H. Brugsch et J. Dümichen. (4 vols., and the text by Dümichen of vols. 3 and 4.)
DÜMICHEN, Historische Inschriften, &c., 1st series, 1867.
——————————————— 2nd series, 1869.
————— Altaegyptische Kalender-Inschriften, 1866.
——————————— Tempel-Inschriften, 1862. 2 vols., folio.
GOLENISCHEFF, Die Metternichstele. Folio, 1877.
LEPSIUS, Nubian Grammar, &c., 1880.
——— Königsbuch der Alten Aegypter. 4to., 1858.
DE ROUGÉ, Études Égyptologiques. 13 vols., complete to 1880.
WRIGHT, Arabic Grammar and Chrestomathy.
SCHROEDER, Die Phönizische Sprache.
HAUPT, Die Sumerischen Familiengesetze.
SCHRADER, Die Keilinschriften und das Alte Testament. 1872.
RAWLINSON, CANON, 6th and 7th Ancient Monarchies.
——————————— History of Egypt. 2 vols. 1882.
OSBURN, The Antiquities of Egypt. 8vo., 1841.
ROBINSON, Biblical Researches. 8vo., 1841.
PIERRET, Dictionnaire d'Archéologie Égyptienne. 8vo. Paris, 1875.
BURKHARDT, Eastern Travels.
WILKINSON, Materia Hieroglyphica. Malta, 1824–30. (*Text only.*)
CHABAS, Mélanges Égyptologiques. 1862–1873.
——— L'Égyptologie. Tomes I and II, 1874 and 1875.
MASPERO, Du genre épistolaire chez les Égyptiens de l'époque Phraonique. 8vo. Paris, 1872.
———— De Carchemis oppidi Situ et Historia Antiquissimâ. 8vo. Paris, 1872.

# *PROCEEDINGS*

OF

# THE SOCIETY

OF

# BIBLICAL ARCHÆOLOGY.

## FOURTEENTH SESSION, 1883-84.

*Second Meeting, 4th December*, 1883.

SAMUEL BIRCH, D.C.L., LL.D., &c., PRESIDENT,
IN THE CHAIR.

The following Presents were announced, and thanks ordered to be returned to the Donors :—

From the Geological Society :—The Quarterly Journal. Vol. XXXIX. Part 4. No. 156. 8vo. London. November 1, 1883.

List of Members. November 1, 1883.

From the Royal Geographical Society :—The Proceedings and Monthly Record of Geography. Vol. V. No. 11. 8vo. London. November, 1883.

From the Royal Institute of British Architects :—The Proceedings. Session 1883-4. Nos. 2 and 3. 4to.

From the Philosophical Society of Glasgow :—The Proceedings. Vol. XIV. 8vo. Glasgow. 1882-3.

From the Société Royale des Antiquaries du Nord :—Mémoires. Nouvelle Série. 8vo. 1882-3, 1884.

From Arthur Cates (*in continuation*) :—Bibliotheca Orientalis. By Ch. Friederici. Sixth Year, 1881. Seventh Year, 1882. 8vo.

From George Bertin:—Notice des Principaux Monuments exposés dans les galeries provisoire du Musée d'antiquités égyptiennes de S. A. le Khédive à Boulaq. Par Auguste Mariette-Bey. 8vo. Le Caire. 1874. Sixth edition.

From the Author:—Suggestions on the Voice Formation of the Semitic Verb: a Comparative and Critical Study. 8vo. London. 1883. By Geo. Bertin.

Reprinted from the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society. Vol. XV. Part 4.

From the Author:—Zur Frage nach der Aussprache der Zischlaute im Babylonisch-Assyrischen. Von Eb. Schrader.

Reprinted from Zeitschr. f. Keilschriftforschung.

From the Author:—Sceaux et cachets Israélite Phéniciens et Syriens, etc. Par Charles Clermont-Ganneau. 8vo. Paris. 1883.

Reprinted from the Journal Asiatique.

The following were elected Members of the Society, having been nominated on 6th November:—

Mrs. Griffiths, Hearne House, Swansea.

William Harry Turton (Lieut. R.E.), F.R.G.S., Devonia, Lordship Lane, S.E.

Rev. Frederick Gardiner, D.D., Professor, Berkeley Divinity School, Middletown, Conn., U.S.A.

Rev. William Hayes Ward, D.D., 251, Broadway, New York, U.S.A.

Oscar von Lemm, Ph.D., Petersburg.

Miss Nicholl, Llantwit Major, Cowbridge, Glamorganshire.

To be added to the List of Subscribers:—

The Public Library, Toronto, Canada.

The following were nominated for election at the next Meeting on January 8th, 1884:—

Henry E. Davis, 28, Leinster Square, W.

Rev. Peter Z. Easton, 33, Wilhelmstrasse, Berlin.

George Henry Gibbs, 7, Albion Grove, Stoke Newington, N.

Rev. Isidore Harris, 192, Portsdown Road, W.

George A. Moore, 418, California Street, San Francisco.

Dr. L. Oberziner, Via S. Vigilio, No. 5, Trent, Tyrol, Austria.

Rev. Henry Major Stephenson, M.A., Head Master, St. Peter's School, York.

George Thorpe, Nelson House, Stoke Newington Road, N.

Mr. H. Rassam read a paper entitled "Biblical Nationalities Past and Present."

This was an endeavour to give a common-sense account of the various nationalities as they formerly existed, and as they at present survive, together with other information gleaned from different sources relating to them.

It was pointed out that the only one mentioned in the Old Testament which has up to the present time retained their nation and power were the Persians; and that the only tribal or national name that had been kept was the Jew; all others had been brought under the common sway of the Turk, known in history by the name of Tartars or Scythians.

Mr. Rassam stated that now more than nine-tenths of the population of Turkey and Persia are a mixture of Christians, Jews, and nondescript sects, not having any very exact idea of their own belief. These latter were the Guebres or ancient Parsees, Sabians who are commonly known as Christians of St. John, Ansarees, Droozes, Yesidis, or devil-worshippers, and Shabbaks, none of which retained any of the old idol worship.

After having lightly touched on the history of the foundation of the Assyrian and Chaldean nations, and described the various palaces and temples discovered during the various excavations, Mr. Rassam attempted to fix the site of the towns Calah, Resen, Rahaboth, &c., &c. A description of the ruins of Babylon was also given, with some account of the ancient history and supposed extent of the city.

The condition of the people and country in ancient times having been disposed of, Mr. Rassam gave an account of the religions and sects at the present time inhabiting Mesopotamia, particularly the Christian communities. These, it was stated, were divided into four different sects, having, it was considered, the same Chaldean or Assyrian origin, but who are now styled Chaldeans, Nestorians, Chaldean Catholics, Syrian Jacobites, and Syrian Catholics. The various peculiarities of their forms of worship and belief were described and discussed, and Mr. Rassam finished his communication with some remarks on the prospect of further excavations being carried on in the sites of the buried cities of Assyria and Babylonia.

Remarks were added by Rev. A. Löwy, Rev. H. G Tomkins, P. le P. Renouf, and W. St. C. Boscawen.

Owing to the lateness of the hour, the paper by Dr. Peters was postponed to a future meeting.

The following Communications have been received:—

Dear Mr. Rylands,

In reply to Mr. Pinches in the *Proceedings* of June last, I must state that I still maintain the correctness of my interpretation of the Slave inscription, and that I do not admit his criticism, nor do I agree with his translation.

I shall not now enter into superfluous juridical* explanation, but only consider several philological points.

I translate, with all persons versed in numismatic matters, the words *kaspu qalū* by "coined silver;" it is the proper expression for this idea. His word *qalū* means "to fry," and not "to refine;" refined silver is after all an inadmissible idea in Babylonian antiquity. That money is struck and not engraved or carved, is well known, but now Mr. Pinches seems to ignore that even in England the expression "coin-engraving" may be used. The Greeks used the expression ἐπίσημον for coined metal. The meaning is silver with figures on it. It is not a serious grammatical objection, that in this case the word ought to be *qēlū;* at any rate, it ought then to be *qĕlū.* Nobody having the slightest idea of a spoken Semitic language will find a peremptory objection in the vocalisation of the guttural *qof*, particularly as the accent of the word is on the last syllable.

I explained the words, "the slave whose members are inscribed to the name" of one of the owners by a sort of personal tenancy. That *saṭar* is to write, was found by Hincks long ago, and Mr. Pinches need not to point it out to me. "Inscribed to his name" means "to his person," and is, I think, certainly a better expression than the strange branding of the hand which Mr. Pinches has originated. It would be a quite useless cruelty to brand a slave on this member. The meaning of "branding" has never been expressed by "writing," there was a special term for it.

* It is of course useless: nobody would make a deed of sale on the provision that the next morning after the sale he might be deprived of his property, not only by the seller himself, but by one of his kinsmen, and for the simple reason that the object bought is marked with the seller's name. Moreover, the Babylonian laws of eviction are pretty well known to us, and are in contradiction to such an idea. In our case the rescission can only be required by the *buyer* on account of a redhibitory defect.

Mr. Pinches (p. 104) neglects entirely in his translation the word *seru*, which, since the publication of my *Grammaire Assyrienne* (2nd ed., p. 9), in 1868, is known to signify "flesh." The second sign is either *duppu*, "tablet," or *sit*, "loin." It was well known to me twenty-five years ago that *zak* and *zaklu* signify "right hand" and "fist." I even derived, ten years ago, from that Babylonian character 𒌋𒁹𒁹𒌋, the Persian 𒌋𒁹𒁹, which has the sound *mu*, because *musti* signifies "fist" in Persian. The passage is difficult; it would be possible to understand not a branding, but a *tattooing*, as is to the present time usual among Eastern nations. The ancient existence of this custom is proved by the severe prohibition of the Mosaic laws, peculiarly in Leviticus xix, 28, of the כתבת קעקע, "the incised writing."

This interpretation, if it should be the real one, would by no means *modify the juridical connection* between the two persons. The fact of the personal tenancy would subsist, and the "writing" would be only the material sign of the slave's attachment to one of the sellers. No Eastern woman could bear on her body the name of a man, unless she became his wife or his mistress.

I do not insist on the real existence of *receipts* in Babylonia, as we have the word *sibir* in a large number of texts where no other sense is possible. The Hebrew word שבר has the same signification, as I pointed out years ago. How can Mr. Pinches (p. 153) say that the money "had never been paid," when *his own translation* (p. 104, line 10) proves the contrary?

I cannot accept Mr. Pinches' proposal to consider the idiogram *kū-ut-hiatus*, as the term *silver* followed by the hiatus, in order to pronounce the last syllable, and think that no Assyriologist will admit this explanation; it is much more reasonable to look at it as a compound idiogram which, not written as that for silver, means another thing.

I limit here my observations, which I could easily have extended, and here restrict myself to that simple but highly important remark, that the study of these exceedingly difficult Babylonian law tablets requires an amount of various knowledge, and cannot be definitively explained by mere philological researches only.

Believe me to be, yours most truly,

Dr. Julius Oppert.

*London, November* 3, 1883.

Dr. Oppert, in his criticisms above printed, altogether begs the question. The point is not, whether he agrees with my translation or not. The correctness of the translation is for Assyriologists to determine.

I should like to ask, who else besides himself translates *kaspu ḳalû* by "coined silver," and why it is the proper expression for the idea? If *ḳalû* means "to fry," then we must naturally translate the words: *Ša narî-ia . . . . ina išâti iḳallû* by "whoever *fries* my stone-tablet in the fire." What is Dr. Oppert's authority for the "English" expression "coin-engraving?" As to the Greek ἐπίσημον, that says nothing in favour of Dr. Oppert's rendering. With regard to the grammatical objection, we are not dealing with a living language, but with one long dead. The presence of Qoph has not saved *ḳabû* from becoming *kîbû* or *kêbû*.

As *šaṭāru* means "to write," why did Dr. Oppert translate the word by "to be addicted?" With regard to the "strange branding on the hand," this expression does not originate with me, but is the offspring of Dr. Oppert's imagination. On p. 106 of the *Proceedings* for April 3, 1883, I say: "seems to have borne on some part of her body the name," &c., and on p. 153 (June 5), "who is marked." I never mentioned the word "branding" at all.

Dr. Oppert says that I have neglected in my translation the word *šêru*. If he will consult p. 106 of the *Proceedings* for April last, he will see that I have taken even that into consideration. Dr. Oppert seems to forget that the words which he would now translate "flesh," "loin,"* "*right hand*," he rendered in his former criticism, "flesh," "loin," "*arms*"; and in his translation he puts, "who by *body*, loins, and *arms* is addicted," &c. (*Proceedings* for May, 1883, pp. 122 and 123). I am glad to see, however, that Dr. Oppert does come round a little to my view of the matter, and admits that the slave, instead of being "*addicted* to the person of Ina-Êsagila-lilbir," may be only "tattooed with his name."

The question was not at all as to the existence of receipts in Babylonia, but as to the correct rendering of the characters, with which Dr. Oppert disagreed.

* If the word (𒁹𒀀𒄴) 𒄭𒌋𒌋 (Bab. 𒁹𒀀𒄴 𒄭𒌋𒌋𒌋) is to be translated "loin," then we must render the passage which I have quoted in the *Proceedings* for April last, p. 106: "I bound chains of gold on their *loins*."

Dr. Oppert says that he "cannot accept" my proposal to consider the ideogram [illegible] as the term for silver, followed by the "hiatus." How, then, does Dr. Oppert propose to read the word [illegible] in S + 906, *Transactions*, Vol. VI, or such a group as [illegible], which occurs very often in contracts? Assyriologists will *have* to admit this "very strange explanation."

As for the translations of tablets referring, directly or indirectly, to the subject, no one will attempt to deny that they are, like almost every other text, very difficult. Let us therefore confine ourselves to those despised "mere philological researches," and, having found out what the writer of these tablets really said, then discuss the question as to what he really meant, instead of coming to the conclusion that he meant such and such things, and then trying to force the meaning into the document.

Theo. G. Pinches.

The following Remarks were made by Dr. Birch at the meeting held on the 5th June:—

The object exhibited is a hypocephalus or imperial disk of linen placed under the heads of the mummies in order to maintain the vital warmth. They are either made of layers of linen covered with stucco, or else of papyrus and bronze. (Champollion, "Notice du Musée Charles X," p. 121.)

The linen and plaster ones have figures and inscriptions, generally in black outline on a yellow ground, but in one instance, in yellow outline on a black ground.

These hypocephali appear to have come into use at some period between the XXVIth and XXXth dynasty. None are inscribed with any royal name, so as to fix their date precisely, but the names of the persons for whom they were made, and the coffins of the mummies from which they were taken, seem to point to that period.

The Mormon religion was founded on one of these hypocephali, as will be seen from the publication of Joseph Smith, entitled, "A Pearl of Great Price," in 1851, p. 7, who has figured one of these hypocephali. In the "Archæologia," Vol. XXXVI, p. 163, I have published another, with a full account of the representations and mystical meanings of these disks, and another by M. de Horrack, "Revue Archéologique," 1862, VI, p. 13.

The present hypocephalus, which belongs to Sir H. Bruce Meux, Bart., and is exhibited by his permission, resembles the others in the general arrangement of its figures and inscriptions. It is in linen, and about four inches diameter. The object itself represents the eye of Shu or Horus, which was supposed to preserve the natural warmth of the body till its resurrection. The middle represented the retina of the eye, and the narrow concentric ring between the centre and the edge the iris. Round this runs a hieroglyphic inscription, referring principally to the types of Amen-Ra. It reads, "I am Amen, who is in secret place; I am the accomplished spirit of the even of the sun, going in and coming forth from the accomplished multitudes; I am the great soul whose form is clear; I am coming out of the abyss at will; I have come; I proceed from the eye; I come forth from the abyss of Hades with the sun from the great house, a chief in Heliopolis; I am the spirit coming from the abyss of Hades, placing things for his body going from heaven and the sun to the hidden soul of the mummy; I proceed from the eye."

The middle is divided into two parts; the upper half has above two lines of hieroglyphs, another address to Amen-ra: "Oh, hiding his body, concealing his shape, illuminating the world with his tranformations in the abyss, he who gives to keep alive the soul for ever!"—referring to the immortality of the soul. The scenes here are in two divisions; in the upper the deity Nuhab or Nahabka offering a symbolic eye to a deity with human form with hawk's beak, seated on a throne, holding a whip in his left hand. A goddess with disk, with symbolic eye for head, standing holding emblem of life in right hand, and lotus flower in left, behind the mystical cow of the 162nd Chapter, probably Athor facing the four genii of the Hades; then the leaf, lion, and sheep,* mentioned in the 164th Chapter, followed by a pylon surmounted by a ram's head and uræus, having four other rams' heads on each side. Behind the pylon is seated Ra, hawk-headed, facing to the left, wearing solar disk, and a vertical scarabæus behind him. In the 2nd division is the bark of the god Af going to the right; Af is ram-headed and disked, standing under a canopy before which stand Isis and Nephthys wearing their emblems. At the prow is Harsiesis, hawk-headed, wearing the pschent, sounding the depths or piercing the Apophis. Behind the shrine are the four genii of the dead, the last steering.

* "Lion protecting sheep." Pleyte, Chap. Suppl. du Livre des Morts, p. 43.

Above this behind is inscribed the boat of that god. This boat meets another having in front a drapery, on which is seated Harpocrates naked, holding a flower in the right hand and a whip in the left; in the centre of the boat is an ark, in which is a cynocephalus of Thoth, wearing lunar disk, seated facing to the left; another cynocephalus is seated in front of the ark offering a symbolic eye. The boat is steered by a human figure. Behind the boat is a naked female figure, *Nut*, falling to the right, having underneath a scarabæus part of the vignette of the 17th Chapter of the Ritual. Above this is inserted the Osirian "Shainen justified for ever, daughter of Nasnebta," the name and genealogy of the person for whom the hypocephalus was made.

The other half is inverted to this, and also has two divisions. 1. A deity with two heads, crowned with hawks' plumes, disks and horns, holding a symbol of life in his right hand, and a jackal-standard in his left; before and behind are five lines of hieroglyphs, which read: "Oh, great god in his disk, giver of his sun-beams from the abyss of Heliopolis, give them to go in and come out uninterruptedly." Then behind him, "protection, life and health behind him for ever!" In the division behind him is a boat with a phœnix, *rekh*, with expanded wings, and five lines of hieroglyphs: "The rams and souls inviolate." This may be connected with the address to the god. In the other compartment is a hawk on the top of a shrine in a boat, addressed on each side by Isis and Nephthys; the hawk represents Osiris. In the compartment beneath is a similar boat, with a horizontal scarabæus called the god "Khepra;" at the right side of the boat is Ra, hawk-headed, wearing a disk, seated facing inwards at the left side of a boat, a cynocephalus emblem of the moon, holding a solar eye. In the compartment beneath is a quadruple ram-headed seated deity wearing the *atf*, having a lunar cynocephalus, wearing the disk of the moon, standing and adoring; on one side a snake in an oval, on the other a snake; on each side five horizontal lines of hieroglyphs. Those on the right read: "Oh, soul engendering his transformation, hiding his body at his births, dissipating, turning back light transformed as the two eyes, transformed as the soul itself or (the body), the mother . . . . . circumstances, who gives terrors to his adversaries, has come the Osirian Shainen, whose word is correct for ever, from the gate of the . . . . . not turned away for ever and ever!" On the other side the inscription reads, "Oh, soul, greatest of afflictors, terrible lord,

greatest of victors, transforming into the warmth of the very symbolic eyes, doing away with the transformations of the mother (or death), placing his body, hiding his body, by the life of his form assuming the type of the lion, the greatest of victors, supplying the ceremonies, give thou the coming forth and going out to the Osiris Shainen, truth spoken for ever." This hypocephalus is fuller that others, although the subject has the same import, and the figures deputed in the retina are the same. Part of it alludes to the opposition of the sun and moon.

Thanks were returned for these communications.

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The Anniversary Meeting of the Society will be held at 9, Conduit Street, Hanover Square, W., on Tuesday, January 8th, 1884, when the Council and Officers of the Society will be elected, and the usual business of the Anniversary Meeting transacted.

N.B —Subscriptions to the Society become due on the 1st of January each year. Those Members in arrear for the current year are requested to send the amount £1 1*s.* at once to the *Treasurer*, B. T. Bosanquet, Esq., 73, Lombard Street, E.C.

Papers proposed to be read at the Monthly Meetings must be sent to the Secretary on or before the 10th of the preceding month.

Members having New Members to propose are requested to send in the names of the Candidates on or before the 10th of the month preceding the meeting at which the names are to be submitted to the Council. On application, the proper nomination forms may be obtained from the Secretary.

Vol. VIII, Part 1, of the "Transactions" of the Society will be issued in January next. Only a few complete sets of the "Transactions" of the Society now remain; they may be obtained by application to the Secretary, W. Harry Rylands, F.S.A., 11, Hart Street, Bloomsbury, W.C.

The Library of the Society, at 11, Hart Street, Bloomsbury, W.C., is open to Members on Monday, Wednesday, and Friday, between the hours of 11 and 4, when the Secretary is in attendance to transact the general business of the Society.

As a new list of Members will shortly be printed, Members are requested to send any corrections or additions they may wish to have made in the list which was published in Vol. VII, Part 3.

Members are recommended to carefully preserve their copies of the "Proceedings," as they will not be reprinted at the end of the Volume of "Transactions," and if lost can only be supplied at a charge for each Part, or for the Volumes.

The Library and Offices of the Society will be closed during Vacation, from December 24th to January 2nd, 1884, inclusive.

## THE FOLLOWING BOOKS ARE REQUIRED FOR THE LIBRARY OF THE SOCIETY.

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Botta, Monuments de Ninive. 5 vols., folio. 1847–1850.
Place, Ninive et l'Assyrie, 1866–1869. 3 vols., folio.
Brugsch-Bey, Grammaire Démotique. 1 vol., folio.
——————— Geographische Inschriften Altaegyptische Denkmaeler. Vols. I—III (Brugsch).
——————— Recueil de Monuments Égyptiens, copiés sur lieux et publiés par H. Brugsch et J. Dümichen. (4 vols., and the text by Dümichen of vols. 3 and 4.)
Dümichen, Historische Inschriften, &c., 1st series, 1867.
——————————————— 2nd series, 1869.
————— Altaegyptische Kalender-Inschriften, 1866.
——————————— Tempel-Inschriften, 1862. 2 vols., folio.
Golenischeff, Die Metternichstele. Folio, 1877.
Lepsius, Nubian Grammar, &c., 1880.
——— Königsbuch der Alten Aegypter. 4to., 1858.
De Rougé, Études Égyptologiques. 13 vols., complete to 1880.
Wright, Arabic Grammar and Chrestomathy.
Schroeder, Die Phönizische Sprache.
Haupt, Die Sumerischen Familiengesetze.
Schrader, Die Keilinschriften und das Alte Testament. 1872.
Rawlinson, Canon, 6th and 7th Ancient Monarchies.
——————————— History of Egypt. 2 vols. 1882.
Osburn, The Antiquities of Egypt. 8vo., 1841.
Robinson, Biblical Researches. 8vo., 1841.
Pierret, Dictionnaire d'Archéologie Égyptienne. 8vo. Paris, 1875.
Burkhardt, Eastern Travels.
Wilkinson, Materia Hieroglyphica. Malta, 1824–30. (*Text only.*)
Chabas, Mélanges Égyptologiques. 1862–1873.
——— L'Égyptologie. Tomes I and II, 1874 and 1875.
Maspero, Du genre épistolaire chez les Égyptiens de l'époque Phraonique. 8vo. Paris, 1872.
———— De Carchemis oppidi Situ et Historia Antiquissimâ. 8vo. Paris, 1872.

# *PROCEEDINGS*

OF

# THE SOCIETY

OF

# BIBLICAL ARCHÆOLOGY.

## FOURTEENTH SESSION, 1883-84.

*Third Meeting, 8th January*, 1884.

[ANNIVERSARY.]

SAMUEL BIRCH, D.C.L., LL.D., &c., PRESIDENT,

IN THE CHAIR.

The President announced with great regret the decease of François Lenormant, one of the most distinguished of the Honorary Members of the Society.

FRANÇOIS LENORMANT, son of the famous archæologist, Charles Lenormant, was born at Paris 17th January, 1837, and died at Paris 9th December, 1883.

M. Lenormant contributed papers to the Society, and various communications from him referring to the study of the Assyrian language, to which he devoted so much attention, will be found printed in the volumes of *Transactions*. His separate works and many valuable contributions to various journals are too numerous and too well known to require any mention here.

The following Presents were announced, and thanks ordered to be returned to the Donors:—

From the Royal Geographical Society:—The Proceedings and Monthly Record of Geography. Vol. V. No. 12. December, 1883. Vol. VI. No. 1. January, 1884. 8vo. London.

From the Royal Institute of British Architects:—The Proceedings. Session 1883–84. Nos. 4 and 5. December, 1883. 4to. London.

From the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-lettres:—Comptes Rendus des Séances, de l'année 1883. Quatrième série. Tome XI. Bulletin de Juillet, Août, Septembre. 8vo. Paris. 1883.

From the Editor:—The American Antiquarian and Oriental Journal. Vol. V. No. 4. October, 1883. 8vo. Chicago.

From the Author:—Les Inscriptions de Tunis. Par Edouard Drouin.
Reprinted from Le Muséon. 8vo. Louvain. 1883.

From the Author:—Les Listes Royales Éthiopiennes et leur autorité historique. Par M. E. Drouin.
Reprinted from the Revue Archéologique, August, September, and October, 1882.

From the Author:—A Sketch of the Modern Language of Africa, accompanied by a Language-Map. By Robert Needham Cust. 2 vols. 8vo. London. 1883.

From the Author:—A Critical Bibliography of the Greek New Testament as published in America. By Isaac H. Hall, A.M., LL.B., Ph.D. 8vo. Philadelphia. 1883.

From the Compiler, Alex. B. McGrigor:—Contributions towards an Index of Passages bearing upon the Topography of Jerusalem, from writings prior to the eleventh century. Printed for private circulation. 4to. Glasgow. 1876.

From W. H. Rylands (*Secretary*):—Das Todtenbuch der Aegypter nach dem hieroglyphischen Papyrus in Turin, mit einem Vorworte zum ersten male herausgegeben von Dr. R. Lepsius. 4to. Leipzig. 1842.

—— Königsbuch der alten Aegypter. Von C. Richard Lepsius. 4to. Berlin. 1858.

The following have been purchased by the Council for the Library of the Society:—

F. A. Guil. Spohn, de Lingva et literis vetervm Aegyptorvm, etc., etc., accedvnt grammatica atque glossarvm Aegyptiacvm edidit et absolvit Gustavus Seyffarth. 4to. Lipsiæ. 1825.

Plutarchi de Iside et Osiride liber: Graece et Anglice, etc. By Samuel Squire, A.M. 8vo. Cantabridgiæ. 1744.

Voyage en Egypte et Nubie. Par J. J. Ampère. 8vo. Paris. 1867.

Keilschrifttexte Sargon's Königs von Assyrien (722–705 v. Chr.), nach den originalen neu herausgegeben, umschrieben, übersetzt und erklärt von Dr. D. G. Lyon. 4to. Leipzig. 1883.

The following were elected Members of the Society, having been nominated on 4th December:—

Henry E. Davis, 28, Leinster Square, W.

Rev. Peter Z. Easton, 33, Wilhelmstrasse, Berlin.

George Henry Gibbs, 7, Albion Grove, Stoke Newington, N.

Rev. Isidore Harris, 192, Portsdown Road, W.

George A. Moore, 418, California Street, San Francisco.

Dr. L. Oberziner, Via S. Vigilio, No. 5, Trent, Tyrol, Austria.

Rev. Henry Major Stephenson, M.A., Head Master, St. Peter's School, York.

George Thorpe, Nelson House, Stoke Newington Road, N.

The following were elected Honorary Members of the Society:—

Professor Piehl, Upsala.

Professor Reinisch, Vienna.

The following were nominated for election at the next Meeting on February 5th, 1884:—

Rev. Lysander Dickerman, D.D., Boston, Mass., U.S.A.

Albert Droege, No. 75, Shepherd's Bush Road, West Kensington.

Francis A. Russell, The School House, Craven Park, Willesden, N.W.

To be added to the List of Subscribers:—

The Library of the British and Foreign Bible Society, Queen Victoria Street, E.C.

The Library of the Theological Institute of Connecticut, U.S.A.

# SECRETARY'S REPORT

## FOR THE YEAR 1883.

SINCE the Anniversary Meeting, held here on the 9th January, 1883, we have to register our loss by death of some most valued Members; and it is with especial regret that the loss of the following must be announced:—

François Lenormant, *Honorary Member.*
Rev. Mourant Brock.
Rev. J. Baylee, D.D., &c.
J. Eliot Howard, F.R.S., &c.

The number of Members on the Roll was announced in the Report for the year 1882 as being 641.

The Roll now comprises:—

| | |
|---|---|
| Ordinary Members .... .... .... .... | 589 |
| Public Libraries .... .... .... .... .... | 39 |
| | 628 |
| Foreign Honorary Members .... .... .... | 34 |
| Total .... | 662 |

It is satisfactory to note from the above figures that the Society has during the past year steadily increased in strength; and there is no reason to expect that during the present year less interest will be shown in the particular studies for the elucidation of which it was originally founded. Year by year, as the area becomes better known, it is only natural that new facts of importance come to light; and although they may in some instances appear to clash with received opinions, and may not at once take their proper place in the sequence of events, it must not be forgotten that it is only by the accumulation of such facts that we may hope ever to complete the history of the past.

Many new items of information bearing on the civilization and history of Africa and Western Asia have been submitted to the Society, and from time to time antiquities and inscriptions tending to widen our knowledge of the country known as that of the "Hittites" have been recorded. In place of the few inscriptions known to us only a short time ago, the interest displayed in the history of these ancient tribes has led to many others being discovered by travellers; and notwithstanding the

difficulties to be surmounted, in many instances more or less perfect squeezes and sketches have been obtained. With a more settled state of affairs, it is sincerely to be hoped that the vast field of Asia Minor will become better known and appreciated as a field for exploration and the enjoyment of travel, and it may fairly be expected that those who visit it will not return to this country empty handed.

It has been the endeavour of the Council, whilst securing papers of varied interest, to bring before the Society such discoveries as have been from time to time made. To M. Eugène Revillout we are indebted for having translated the most interesting Demotic text so kindly placed at the disposal of the Society by its possessor, Mr. Dodgson: unique of its kind, this document, recording the malediction of an Egyptian mother on her son embracing Christianity, was most fitting to commence the Session. From the same author we have the translations of two other Demotic papyri in the British Museum, which throw light on the marriage laws of ancient Egypt. A lengthy communication was read by the Rev. W. H. Sewell, on the Houses and Householders in the time of Christ, in which he had collected much scattered information.

Mr. Rassam gave an interesting account of his recent discoveries of ancient Babylonian cities, particularly as regards Abu-Habba and Tel-Ibraheem, the excavations of which have produced such satisfactory results. Dealing with the ancient civilization, may be mentioned the paper by Mr. Theo. G. Pinches, on Babylonian Tablets relating to Householding, being the translation of four tablets belonging to the Egibi series; also that by Dr. S. Louis, in which was brought together much curious information regarding the laws for the regulation of the poor among the ancient Hebrews. The first of a series of communications by the Rev. A. Löwy, on Underground Structures in Biblical Lands, which was printed entire in the *Proceedings* for June, was of no ordinary interest, as it dealt with a subject perhaps too much neglected.

The parts of *Transactions* shortly to be issued to the Members are now in the hands of the printer, and will, it may be fairly hoped, be distributed before the next meeting of the Society; they will contain some of the Papers read during previous years, as well as some of those already mentioned. Not a few of them will be illustrated, and wherever possible a *facsimile* of the original document has been obtained, and will be given in illustration of the Paper. Among these may be mentioned the Papyrus Dodgson, translated by M. Revillout, under the title Les Anathèmes d'une Mère Payenne contre son fils devenu Chrétien, and Deux pièces relatives à une Mariage du temps de Darius, by the same author, and now in the British Museum; also the valuable paper by the President on the tablet referring to two architects, Har and Suti, also in the British Museum, and dating from the XVIIIth dynasty, in the time of Amenophis III.

One portion of Egyptian Mythology will be illustrated by Mr. Renouf's paper, entitled "Egyptian Mythology, particularly with reference to Mist and Cloud," in which are explained some very interesting and curious examples of the early belief of the Egyptians as based upon natural phenomena.

Assyria and Babylonia—those vast fields of research and interest—naturally take a prominent place in the considerations of the Society. The Rev. W. Houghton, in his paper on The Birds of the Assyrian Monuments and Records, continues his researches in the Natural History of these countries, and, with this communication, almost completes the series. In the illustrations, the endeavour has been to place within the reach of the members in a convenient form the typical forms of all the birds of which, up to the present time, representations have come down to us. Following up the paper by Mr. H. Rassam on Recent Discoveries of Ancient Babylonian Cities, Mr. Pinches laid before the Society a description of the most noteworthy antiquities discovered on the site of Abu-Habba, which will be followed in a future part by a further communication on the same subject. Mr. Geo. Bertin's instructive paper on Akkadian Precepts for the Conduct of Man in his Private Life, deals with a department of history too much neglected, although of very general interest, and like that of Dr. S. Louis on the Poor Laws of the Ancient Hebrews, most satisfactorily fills a blank the existence of which has long been regretted.

Again, as in each succeeding year since their commencement, may be noticed the steady increase not only in bulk, but in general interest of the *Proceedings*. In thus recording such satisfactory progress, we must not forget to express our indebtedness to the many friends whose kindness and learning has placed us in possession of so many valuable communications. In continuation of the paper read by M. Revillout on Christian History, Dr. Pleyte has brought together other mentions of the Christian Religion in Egyptian documents; and the President, in a series of communications, has with great care and patience copied and interpreted a large number of the inscribed potsherds known as Ostraka, dated in the reigns of Nerva, Trajan, Hadrian, and the Antonines.

Of Assyrian antiquities there are a large number of notes. Mr. Theo. G. Pinches announces some recent discoveries bearing on the ancient history and chronology of Babylonia — Babylonian Tablets relating to Householding—the name Ben Hadad; and his illustrated communications on the Contract Tablet from Babylon inscribed with unknown characters, called forth a reply from Dr. J. Oppert. Mr. Geo. Bertin, as well as his remarks on The Character and Influence of the Accent in the Akkadian and Assyrian Words, adds a reply to those of Professor Sayce on the Kappadokian Cuneiform Inscription now at Kaisariyeh. Dr. John P. Peters discusses some questions raised by Mr. Pinches on the Akkadian Numerals.

The Rev. H. G. Tomkins in drawing attention to some interesting sites in Northern Syria, roughly attempts the identification of places mentioned in the Egyptian and Assyrian Records, as a preface to a more extended communication.

Bearing more directly on Egypt, Mr. Renouf considered the sign and the preposition *tui;* while the President explained a board with an Hieratic inscription, of which only one other example is known, and two sets of the four sepulchral vases bearing inscriptions.

To Professor W. Wright, LL.D., we have been often indebted for Notes on Phœnician Gems, and five new ones were explained by him in the present series.

Among the other communications are those of M. Alex. Enmann, on the Origin of the Cypriote Syllabary; Professor A. H. Sayce, on the Names Shem and Japhet; and the account by Mr. E. A. Budge of some new Himyaritic inscriptions now in this country.

Mr. F. Cope Whitehouse still continues his researches in the Mœris Basin, and in a communication in continuation of his former paper included his latest discoveries and opinions on this subject.

The Council have, with pleasure, reported at each meeting the valuable donations made to the Library of the Society, as well as those books which they have, as the ordinary funds of the Society allowed, from time to time purchased, for the use of the Members. It may, however, be well repeated, that the amount at their disposal for this purpose is necessarily small, and that the Library, although steadily increasing in value and use, is still very far from complete in many subjects. It is therefore to be hoped that Members will still continue to assist in placing such works as may be required within the reach of those who may have few other opportunities of consulting them.

The audited balance sheet annexed shows that the funds available for the year 1883 have been £884 14*s.* 9*d.*, and the expenditure in like period £658 1*s.* 2*d.*, the balance brought forward from 1882 having been £172 5*s.* 1*d.* The balance carried forward to the current year, 1884, is £226 13*s.* 7*d.*, which is available for defraying the expense of such portion of Vol. VIII not already paid.

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The above report and balance sheet were adopted.

A vote of thanks to the President for his valuable services to the Society was unanimously passed, to which the President replied.

# SOCIETY OF BIBLICAL ARCHÆOLOGY.

## STATEMENT OF RECEIPTS AND EXPENDITURE FOR THE YEAR ENDED DECEMBER 31ST, 1883.

| 1883. | Dr. | £ | s. | d. | £ | s. | d. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Jan. 1. | To Balance in hand ... ... ... ... | | | | 172 | 5 | 1 |
| | ,, Subscriptions for 1883 ... | 472 | 0 | 5 | | | |
| | ,, Arrears from former years | 100 | 14 | 8 | | | |
| | ,, In advance, 1884 ... ... | 19 | 15 | 10 | | | |
| | | | | | 592 | 10 | 11 |
| | ,, Sales of Transactions ... ... ... | | | | 116 | 4 | 7 |
| | ,, Dividends, 1 year, on £123 14*s.* 3*d.* New Three per Cents. ... ... | | | | 3 | 14 | 2 |
| | | | | | £884 | 14 | 9 |

| Cr. | £ | s. | d. |
|---|---|---|---|
| By Rent, including one quarter of 1882 ... ... | 141 | 0 | 0 |
| ,, Printing Proceedings, &c. ... ... ... ... | 149 | 19 | 0 |
| ,, Secretary's Expenses ... ... ... .. | 200 | 0 | 0 |
| ,, Official Auditor's Fee ... ... ... .. | 1 | 11 | 6 |
| ,, Postage of Proceedings, &c. ... .. ... | 22 | 4 | 5 |
| ,, Housekeeper and Sundries ... ... ... ... | 10 | 13 | 8 |
| ,, Furniture ... ... ... ... ... . | 5 | 10 | 9 |
| ,, Books and Bookbinding ... ... ... ... | 18 | 17 | 3 |
| ,, Fire Insurance ... ... ... ... ... | 3 | 7 | 6 |
| ,, Engraving, Drawing, &c. ... ... .. ... | 89 | 9 | 11 |
| ,, Stationery, Advertising, &c. ... ... ... | 5 | 7 | 2 |
| ,, Subscription, "Persepolis," Part II ... ... | 10 | 0 | 0 |
| ,, Balance carried forward to 1884 ... ... ... | 226 | 13 | 7 |
| | £884 | 14 | 9 |

Audited and found correct, January 7th, 1884.

G. MACLARAN.
THEO. G. PINCHES.

### ASSETS.

Subscriptions still outstanding for 1883.
Library Furniture and Effects at 11, Hart Street.
The Transactions in stock.
Reserve Fund in New Three per Cent. Annuities, £123 15*s.* 1*d.*

### LIABILITIES.

Printing, Rent, and Current Expenses, accruing for 1884.
Printing Vol. VIII.

11, Hart Street, Bloomsbury, W.C., *January 6th*, 1884.

W. HARRY RYLANDS, *Sec.*

The following Officers and Council for the current year were elected:—

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Through the kindness of Dr. Birch I have been enabled to copy the whole of the Hypocephali in the British Museum, one of which will be issued with each number of the "Proceedings," until the whole series has been published. I shall be much obliged if any Members possessing copies of other examples will be good enough to let me have an opportunity of seeing them. The following Communication, in explanation of the one now published, has been kindly furnished by Dr. Birch.—W. H. RYLANDS.

The second hypocephalus, which is in the British Museum, No. 8545, is in black outline and on linen, and has similar scenes to that belonging to Sir Henry Meux, Bart. I. The car of Athor, genii of the Amenti, deity with the eye in a disk, and holding a flower; a seated deity, human and hawk united, the god Nahabka and right symbolic eye, and the word *tuau neter*, "adoration." II. Below the deity with four rams' heads wearing the atef, adored by six disked cynocephali. III. Another division, the deity with two heads; the boat with the hawk of Socharis, the human-headed hawk, emblems of the soul, with the words Isis and Nepthys, but not their figures; the boat of Ra, with the god seated; horizontal scarab, and a crib, having before it *bat*. In the compartment above, above the boat with the hawk of Socharis, are three lines of hieroglyphs, "Thou art [hast been] as the eight rams [souls] of thy gods." The inscription round the border reads, "Oh box in the roofed abode very tall, very glorious bull of . . . greatest of life, over the gods . . . . of the Osirian Har correct spoken give him the warmth under his head. He is one of thy followers."

The following communication has been received from Dr. A. Wiedemann, on some objects with Greek inscriptions found in Egypt:—

Among the different monuments I brought from Egypt two years ago, and which are now in my possession, there are some with Greek inscriptions. Even if they are not of any great historical interest, each of them has a certain value, so that I think it will be useful to put them before the readers of these *Proceedings*. Perhaps my example will induce others to publish their Greek texts from Egypt,

of which many are to be found in the private collections in England. This will be the only way by which it will be possible to prepare a new "Corpus Inscriptionum Græcarum" from Egypt—a very necessary enterprise, as the number of inscriptions found there since the publication of the "Corpus" of Franz has increased in a wonderful manner. In publishing the texts I will follow the example given in the "Corpus." After a short description of the inscribed object, the text is given in epigraphical characters, and transcription into common Greek, and then follow some notes pointing out the value of the inscription, and quoting, if possible, parallel texts.

I. Piece of wood, found in the Necropolis of Thebes, 28 cm. long, about 4 cm. broad, 1 cm. thick, broken off from the lower part of the foot-end of a coffin. At the back there are remains of stucco, by means of which other pieces of wood were originally fixed to the fragment. The inscription is written with black ink in characters ½ cm. high :—

ΚΡΟΝΙΟΣΗΡΑΚΛΕΙΔΟΥΤΟΥΠΟΛΥΠΕΡΧΟΝΤΟΣ
ΤΩΝΚΑΤΟΙΚΩΝΙΠΠΕΩΝ

Κρόνιος Ἡρακλείδου τοῦ Πολυπέρχοντος
τῶν κατοίκων ἱππέων.

"Cronios, the son of Herakleides, the son of Polyperchon, of the cavalry of κάτοικοι"

The κάτοικοι ἱππεῖς appear several times in the texts; we find in the acts of the process of Hermias, in Pap. Louvre XV, l. 3–4, α Πολυπέρχων ὁ Ἀμμωνίου τῶν κατοίκων ἱππέων, and in Pap. Turin, I, l. 7, α Πανίσκος ὁ Ἀμμωνίου τῶν κατοίκων (*sc.* ἱππέων, as showed Wolff, "De causa Hermiana," p. 36) as assessors at the tribunal at Thebes. An inscription found at Cairo (C. I. Gr., No. 4698, *cf.* Letronne, "Rech.," p. 313, *sqq.*) quotes an Apollodorus ὁ ἐπιστάτης καὶ γραμματεὺς τῶν κατοίκων ἱππέων, and in the tomb which is spoken of in the Pap. Louvre V was also buried (col. 14, l. 1) a Ἡρακλείδης κάτοικος, γυνὴ, Διοσπ. Two passages of Polybius (V, 65, and the fragment in Müller, "Fragmenta Hist. Græc.," II, p. xxviii; *cf.* Aristeas, ed. Moriz Schmidt, pp. 15, 20) show us that these κάτοικοι were mercenerian soldiers, who after a long service in the Egyptian army, got a piece of land and lived in the φρουρία κατὰ τὴν χῶραν, and in the κατοικίαι as veterans, forming nevertheless a part of the land army. If their sons entered into the Egyptian army they got the name of ἐπίγονοι, and

were, as we see by the Pap. London, II, l. 66–74, 43–45 (*cf.* Franz, "De administratione Ægypti Macedonica," Berlin, 1846, pp. 8–11), very well paid.

II. Burned brick, 7 cm. long, in rectangular form, about 2 cm. thick. The clay contains many small pieces of stone. Found near the Pyramids of Gizeh. On the fore-side an inscription in engraved characters, each letter being about 1 cm. high. Above and below the inscription is a horizontal line, which is wanting between the two lines of the text :—

ΕΙΡΗΝΑΙ
ΕΥΤΥΧΙ

Εἰρήνᾳ εὐτύχι. Behind the last word is a flower in the form of the hieroglyphic 𓋹.

Three similar texts were published by Miller, "Rev. Arch.," N.S., XXIX, p. 389, from paper casts. He thinks that the originals were of wood, but our piece shows that they were also of clay. These plates were certainly put into the tomb as a last greeting to the deceased. Probably of Christian origin.

III. Small vase, 6·2 cm. high, roughly made, of ordinary form, with base; the handle is broken off. The inner hole was made with the fingers, so that the clay side is very thick, badly burnt, and blackened on the outside. Stamped in front with small characters in high relief :—

ΛΥΚ
ΙΟΝ

Λυκίον(ος), the name of the maker.*

IV.–VII. Four handles of large burnt brick-vases of Rhodes, with stamps, giving the name of the magistrate under whose survey they were made or exported. Found at Alexandria.

4. ΕΠΙΤΕΙΣΑΜΕΝΟΥΠΑΝΑΜΟΥΒ

ἐπὶ Τεισαμένου. Πανάμου β. Written circular around an heraldic rose.

The name of Teisamenos is found on different other handles of the same kind, published in the "Corp. Inscr. Græc.," III, p. xiii, No. 458, *sqq.*, but none of them gives the very rare name of the month Panamos the second.

* Or perhaps the name of the ointment for the eyes called the "Lycian," which the vase held.—W.H.R.

5. ΕΠΙΣΩΣΙΚΛΕΥΣΔΑΛΙΟΥ

*ἐπὶ Σωσικλεῦς Δαλίου.* Written around an heraldic rose.

A very similar piece was found near Syrakus ("Corp. Inscr. Græc.," IV, p. 256, No. 141); others with the name of the same magistrate, but with names of other months, are published in the "Corp. Inscr. Græc.," III, p. xii, No. 412, *sqq.* :—

6. ΑΓΟΡΑΝΑΚΤΟΣ
ΑΓΡΙΑΝΙΟΥ

*Ἀγορανάκτος Ἀγριανίου.* Written in a rectangular deepening.

The same inscription, but written in three lines, is found on a piece published by Miller, "Rev. Arch.," N.S., XXIX, p. 379, No. 9; the same magistrate with the names of other months appears in texts in the "Corp. Inscr. Græc.," III, p. v, No. 16, *sqq.*; IV, p. 252, Nos. 12–16; and in Dumont, "Arch. des miss. scient.," II, Ser. VI, p. 78, *sq* :—

7. ΣΘΕΝ
ΝΙΔΑ

*Σθεννίδα.* Written in a rectangular deepening.

No piece with the same name is known to me.

Pieces of similar pottery, as represented by these four examples, were found in nearly all the sites excavated around the Eastern Mediterranean; they are also very common in Sicily, and some of them were also found at Jerusalem (*cf.* Guthe, "Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palæstina-Vereins," V, p. 349, *sqq.*). They show how far the Rhodian products (especially wine) were exported, and are in this way one of our most precious authorities for the reconstruction of the history of commerce during the period from Alexander the Great to the beginning of the Christian Era.

VIII. Lamp of clay of the ordinary oblong form, 8½ cm. long, 6 cm. broad, found at Karnak. Around the upper hole is a circular ornament, and round this again, in high relief, is the inscription :—

ΤΟΥΑΓΙΟΥΤΟΛΥΟΚΤΟΣ

*τοῦ ἁγίου Τολυόκτος.* The piece was made in Christian times.

IX. A very similar piece, also from Karnak, but with an inscription half in Coptic language :—

ΠΝΟΥΤΕΒΟΗΘΙΕΡΟΙ

*πνουτε βοηθι Εροι*, for Πνουτε βοήθει Ἑρῳ.*

X. Coptic lamp with rude ornaments, 8 cm. long, 7 cm. broad, found at Thebes. On the bottom is a palm branch and a half-moon, and under these the name of the maker :—

ΠΑΤΑ, *Πάτα.*

XI. Greek or Roman lamp, with the figure of a standing man with large hat and very large boots, 8 cm. long, 6 cm. broad; found at Thebes. Below is the inscription :—

IVST . . . .

Probably the commencement of the Latin name Iustus.

XII—XV. Vases in plain form, 10 cm. high, 6 cm. broad, $2\frac{1}{2}$ cm. thick, of Saint Menas, found at Alexandria. We possess a description of similar vases by Le Blant, "Rev. arch.," N.S. XXXV, pp. 299–306.

12. On one side the inscription :—

ΕΥΛ
ΟΓΙΑΤΟ
ΥΑΓΙΟΥ
ΜΗΝΑ

*εὐλογία τοῦ ἁγίου Μήνα.* "Vase of Saint Menas."

On the other side, Head of a Negro.

13. On one side, around a Coptic cross, the inscription :—

ΤΟΥΑΓΙΟΥΜΗΝΑ

*τοῦ ἁγίου Μήνα.* Around these words a palm branch.

On the other side, Menas holding the two typhonic animals.

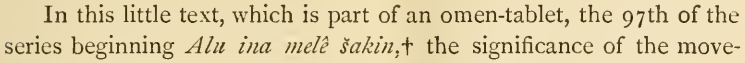
14, 15. On each side of these two vases we see Menas holding the typhonic animals; on the two sides of the Saint is a cross. Without inscription.

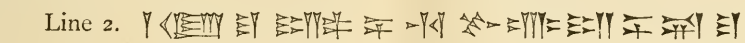
* Or "the lord help me."—W.H.R.

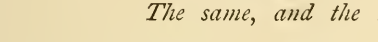
The following notes on the Falcon have been communicated by Mr. Theo. G. Pinches :—

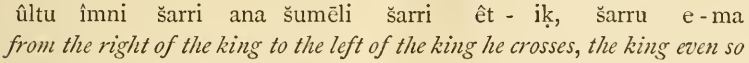
It may not be uninteresting to give the passages from the tablet * which refer to the *surdu*-bird, used for hunting by the Assyrians and Babylonians.

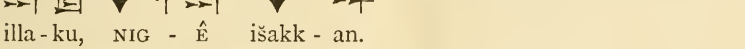
In this little text, which is part of an omen-tablet, the 97th of the series beginning *Alu ina melê šakin*,† the significance of the movements of this bird when after his prey, &c., is given as follows :—

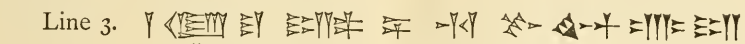
Line 2. 
Šû -ma ‡ Sur -du D.S. bu'- u - ra êp - uš -ma
*The same, and the Surdu makes for the game, and*


ûltu îmni šarri ana šumēli šarri êt - iḳ, šarru e - ma
*from the right of the king to the left of the king he crosses, the king even so*


illa - ku, NIG - Ê išakk - an.
*will go, an expulsion he will make.*

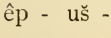
Line 3. 
Šu -ma Sur - du D.S. Bu - ' - u - ra
*The same, and the Surdu makes for the*


êp - uš -ma ûltu šumēli sarri ana îmni šarri êt - iḳ,
*game, and from the left of the king to the right of the king crosses,*


šarru e - ma illa - ku, kiššat (?) - su ikašš - ad.
*the king even so will go, his enemy* § *(?) he will capture.*

* See Mr. Houghton's paper upon the "Birds of the Assyrian Monuments," *Transactions*, Vol. VIII, p. 104.

† It is of this series that the texts published on pl. 31 of the fifth Vol. of the "Western Asia Inscriptions" are an explanation.

‡ The upright wedge  denotes a fresh paragraph. The compound character  is here transcribed as *Šû* on account of this word being so very common in the bilingual lists, and often followed by  *ma*. The meaning is "ditto." The first line of the text above quoted probably began with some such phrase as "When the king hunts with the Surdu-bird," and if so, this phrase is to be repeated wherever  occurs. Compare W.A.I., IV, pl. 30, l. 12 *b*.

§ Or, "underling," or "tributary."

Line 9. Šû - ma Sur - du D.S. bu - ' - u - ra
*The same, and the Surdu makes for the*

êp - uš - ma bu - ' - ur - šu ina pî - šu ip - ru - ur - ma ana
*game and his game with his beak tears, and*

pan šarri i - šu - '
*before the king flies.*

then the king will expel his enemy, &c.

Lines 11 and 12, which are complete at the beginning, are the same as lines 9 and 10, except that, instead of *iprur*, "tears," there is *iššî*, "raises."

Line 13. Šû - ma Sur. D.S. u u - ga - ga D.S.
*The same, and the Surdu and the Ugaga*

ana pan šarri ṣal - ta êpušu - ma Sur - du D.S.
*before the king make battle, and the Surdu*

u - ga - ga D.S. i - dûk.
*kills the Ugaga.*

Then the weapons of the king will prevail over the weapons of his enemy. If the Ugaga kill the Surdu, the omen would be equally favourable, as it seems, for the Assyrian or Babylonian king.

According to the 66th tablet of the same series it would seem that the Surdu-bird, among other things, "flies over the city" (*ina êli ali išu'u*), and "keeps congregating over the city" (*ina êli ali iptanaḫḫuru*). It seems also to have driven the Vulture (*êru* or *našru*) from its nest.† A few extracts from the more complete part of this text may not be without interest:—

* The is here left out, but as the word occurs again farther on in this line, it is clear that the same bird is intended.

† , *Surdu* D.S. *ina âpti bîti-šu ḳinnam êra* D.S. *ušêṣamma.*

"The Surdu descends to the house of a man: the wife of the man will die.

"The Surdu descends to the house of a man and flies away (*issî*): that house will be destroyed.

"The Surdu descends to the house of a man and takes something: he (the man) will fall very ill, and will die.

"The Surdu descends to the house of a man and does not take anything: he (the man) will fall very ill, but will live.

"The Surdu hunts prey at the house of a man: the lord of that house will die.

"The Surdu builds his nest* and rears young at the house of a man; that house will grow old.

"The Surdu brings forth young on the roof (*ina ûršî*) of the house of a man: that house will be destroyed.

"The Surdu brings forth young in the foundation (*ina tarbaṣi*) of the house of a man: that house will be spoiled.†

"The Surdu and the Vulture do not agree, and fight.‡ . . . . . ."

According to this text also there were both white and black Surdus, [illegible], *surdu piṣû*, and [illegible], *surdu ṣalmu.*

Aššur-banî-apli, in his account of the war against Elam, says of Ummanaldas, "From the mountain, the house of his refuge, whither he had fled, like a Surdu-bird I snatched him, and brought him alive to Assyria."

The descriptions here given answer fairly well to the falcon (*F. peregrinator*) in the East. These birds are said to fight with ravens, and it not unfrequently happens that the latter are victorious. A raven has been known to break the skull of a falcon with a blow of its bill. Whether the Ugaga be the raven or not is uncertain, but very likely.

* [illegible], *ḳinna iḳnun-ma*, both from *ḳanānu*, "to build a nest."

† It will be noticed that it is not difficult to interpret the same omen favourably or otherwise, according to the light in which it is regarded.

‡ [illegible], *Surdu* D.S. *u êru* D.S. *lâ mitguru-ma imtaḫḫaṣu.*

The following Communication has been received from J. Chotzner :—

DEAR SIR, HARROW, *December* 4, 1883.

The subject of Hebrew poetry has frequently been discussed by ancient and modern writers, and various attempts were made to frame certain theories in reference to its external form. The earliest writers on this subject, such as Philo, Josephus, Jerome, Eusebius, and others, maintained that the poetical parts of the Hebrew Bible were composed in various metres, among which the hexametre or, as it is commonly called, the heroic metre, occupies the first place. In subsequent times, however, only two more writers of renown, Isidore of Seville* (about 1106 A.D.), and Kircher† (about 1601 A.D.), adhered to this theory, while their contemporaries and almost all modern writers on the same subject rejected it, and substituted for it theories of their own. Among these theories is one that applies the rules of the Arabic metre to Hebrew, and compares the supposed hexameter of the Hebrews to that particular metre called in Arabic مُتَقَارِب (*Motakareb*), though in point of fact the present Arabic poetry is of a comparatively modern invention. Another theory, the most favoured one among modern Hebrew scholars, is that of *parallelism*, which consists in the mutual correspondence between the members of each Hebrew period. Now, the question arises: Was it really necessary to reject the first-named theory, and substitute others in its stead? It would seem not, for, in the first place, it can be shown that the hexameter verse is so numerously found in the various poetical pieces of the Hebrew Bible, that its introduction there can hardly be said to have been *undesigned*. And then, if the supposition be correct, viz., that the ancient Greeks had come in contact with the Hebrews, and had known the contents of their literature (comp. Gen. x, 2–5; Is. lxvi, 19; Josephus,

* Comp. Originum, L. i, c. 18: Omnium quoque metris prius est. Hoc primum Moses in cantico Deuteronomi, *longe ante Pherecydem et Homerum* cecinisse probatur. Unde et apparet antiquius fuisse apud Hebraios studium carminum quam apud gentiles. Si quidem et Jobus, Mosi temporibus adæquatus, *hexametro versu*, dactylo spondeoque decurrit.

† Comp. Musurg. Univers., L. ii, c. 5, § 1: Certe ante *Trojam conditam*, ante Argonautarum navigationem, ante exodium Olympiadum, jam Moysen, jam Deboram, jam matrem Samuelis, jam Davidem, carminis leges ad amussim observasse, dum sua cantica ad metricas leges composuerunt, luculenter patet.

Apion, i, 22), it is not at all improbable that the former had learnt the existence of the hexameter verse from the Hebrew, and subsequently adopted it as their own. The supposition in question seems to gain credence by the fact that the two most famous epic songs of the Greeks, the Iliad and Odyssey, in which the hexameter was brought to perfection, were written and composed in the very district of the west coast of Asia Minor (Ιωνία) which was inhabited by Ionian Greeks, who were in the habit of buying Hebrews as slaves (comp. Joel, iv, 6). It is therefore not unlikely that by means of these Hebrews the Greeks became acquainted with the prosody of the Hebrew Bible, which they not only imitated in their own language, but even succeeded in bringing to the highest perfection.

The following few examples, taken at random from the various books of the Hebrew Bible, will show some striking specimens of the hexameter verse, which in point of sound and scansion may be said to be almost perfect. As to scansion, it ought to be observed that those vowels seem to have been considered *always* long which had the *tone accent*, while all the others, including the *Sheva mobile* and the *Sheva quiescence*, were treated sometimes as long and sometimes as short ones. Here are a few examples :—

(Genesis xlix, 21.) נפתלי אילה שלוחה הנותן אמרי שפר.

(Numbers xxiii, 19.) לא איש אל ויכזב ובן אדם ויתנחם.

(Isaiah x, 29.) בא על עית עבר במגרון למכמוש יפקיד כליו.

(Jeremiah xi, 15.) מה לידידי בביתי עשותה המזמתה הרבים.

(Ezekiel xvii, 3.) בא אל הלבנון ויקח את צמרת הארז.

(Proverbs xxxi, 13.) דרשה צמר ופשתים ותעש בחפץ כפיה.

(Job xiii, 11.) זכרוניכם משלי אפר לגבי חומר גביכם.

(Canticles i, 17.) קורות בתינו ארזים רהיטנו ברותים.

(Lamentations iii, 15.) ויגרס בחצץ שני הכפישני באפר.

There is a good deal more to be said on this important subject, which must, however, be reserved for some future communication.

Yours truly, J. CHOTZNER.

The following Communication has been received :—

## PAPERS ON ASSYRIAN GRAMMAR, II.

By Theo. G. Pinches.

### The Permansive of the other Forms.

As has been already stated,* there are twelve forms to the verb in Semitic Babylonian or Assyrian, found in common use, and the forms of the infinitive have been given, as far as they could then be made out.† Now the Permansive of the third person masculine, singular or plural, are alike, except that the singular sometimes drops the vowel-ending *u*. I give here the forms with the characters :—

| I. | | II. | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | šakin | | naškun |
| 2. | šitkunu | | itaškun |
| 3. | šitankunu | | itanaškun |

| III. | | IV. | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | šukkunu | | šuškunu |
| 2. | šitakkunu | | šutaškunu |
| 3. | šitanakkunu | | šutanaškunu |

It will be easily seen from the above that the second group (Niphal, &c.) throws aside more freely the vowel-ending *u* than the others (except Kal). Nevertheless, they could all be used like the Permansive Kal. It is not unlikely, however, that as all the forms except those of the Kal were very rarely used, they had, in the minds of the Assyrians and Babylonians, kept more the force of Participles than of pure tenses.

The following gives, in transcription, all the persons of the Permansive, restored, and, in foot notes, some of the verbs themselves in which they occur :—

* *Proceedings*, Vol. V, p. 25.

† The only new form I have come across is *šutaškunu* (Istaphal = IV. 2), showing that the Istanaphal (IV. 3) must be *šutanaškunu*.

I. 2.

| | *Singular.* | *Plural.* |
|---|---|---|
| 1. | šitkunaku, šitkunak* | šitkunāni or šitkunānu |
| 2. | šitkunāta | šitkunatunu |
| 3. *m.* | šitkunu | šitkunu ‡ |
| 3. *f.* | šitkunat† | šitkuna |

None of the forms of the Permansive of I. 3 (*šitankunaku*, &c.) have yet been found, so they are not given here. The student can, however, easily restore them, if he wish to complete the verb-scheme.

II. 1.

| | *Singular.* | *Plural.* |
|---|---|---|
| 1. | naškunaku | naškunāni |
| 2. | naškunāta | naškunatunu |
| 3. *m.* | naškun | naškunu |
| 3. *f.* | naškunat | naškuna |

II. 2.

| | *Singular.* | *Plural.* |
|---|---|---|
| 1. | itaskunaku | itaškunāni |
| 2. | itaškunāta | itaškunatunu |
| 3. *m.* | itaškun§ | itaškunu |
| 3. *f.* | itaskunat | itaškuna |

II. 3.

As none of the forms of the Permansive of this conjugation (*itanaškunaku*, &c.) have yet been found, they also are not given.

III. 1.

| | *Singular.* | *Plural.* |
|---|---|---|
| 1. | šukkunaku‖ | šukkunāni†† |
| 2. | šukkunāta | šukkunatunu |
| 3. *m.* | šukkunu¶ | šukkunu |
| 3. *f.* | šukkunat** | šukkuna |

* , *pi-it-lu-ḫa-ak* (*ṭalāḫu*, "to reverence").

† , *lit-bu-šat* (*labāšu*, "to clothe").

‡ , *ri-it-mu-ku*, "they flowed" (*ramāku*).

§ , *i-ta-am-gur* (*magāru*, "to obey.")

‖ , *ku-uṣ-ṣu-pa-ku*, "I have considered" (*kaṣāpu*).

¶ , *dul-lu-ḫu*, "he was troubled" (*dalāḫu*).

** , *ṣu-uḫ-ḫu-rat*, "it had become small" (*ṣaḫāru*).

†† , *bu-ur-ru-ka-a-ni*, "we were blessed" (*barāku*.)

III. 2, and III. 3.

The Permansive of III. 2 and III. 3 have not yet been found, but the former is easily restored by taking the model of the Infinitive *šitakkunu* for the 3rd pers. masc. sing. (the ground-form), and supplying the others upon the models already given. The 1st person singular of III. 3 would of course be *šitanakkunaku*.

IV. 1.

| | *Singular.* | *Plural.* |
|---|---|---|
| 1. | šuškunaku | šuškunāni |
| 2. | šuškunāta | šuškunatunu |
| 3. *m.* | šuškunu,* šuškun† | šuškunu |
| 3. *f.* | šuškunat‡ | šuškuna |

IV. 2.

| | *Singular.* | |
|---|---|---|
| 1. | šutaškunaku | šutaškunāni |
| 2. | šutaškunāta | šutaškunatunu |
| 3. *m.* | šutaškun§ | šutaškunu |
| 3. *f.* | šutaškuna | šutaškuna |

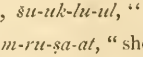
IV. 3.

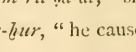
Of the tertiary form of Shaphel I have as yet come across no examples. Such a form as *šutanaškunaku* was most likely regarded as too long by Assyrian and Babylonian scribes.

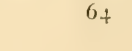
## REMARKS.

No assimilation takes place when a radical *n*, having no vowel after it, comes close to another consonant (or, at most, very rarely).

It is not unlikely that the permansive Niphal of verbs having the two last radicals the same was formed like the infinitive of these roots (*našallulu*, instead of *našlulu*, from *šalālu*, "to spoil").

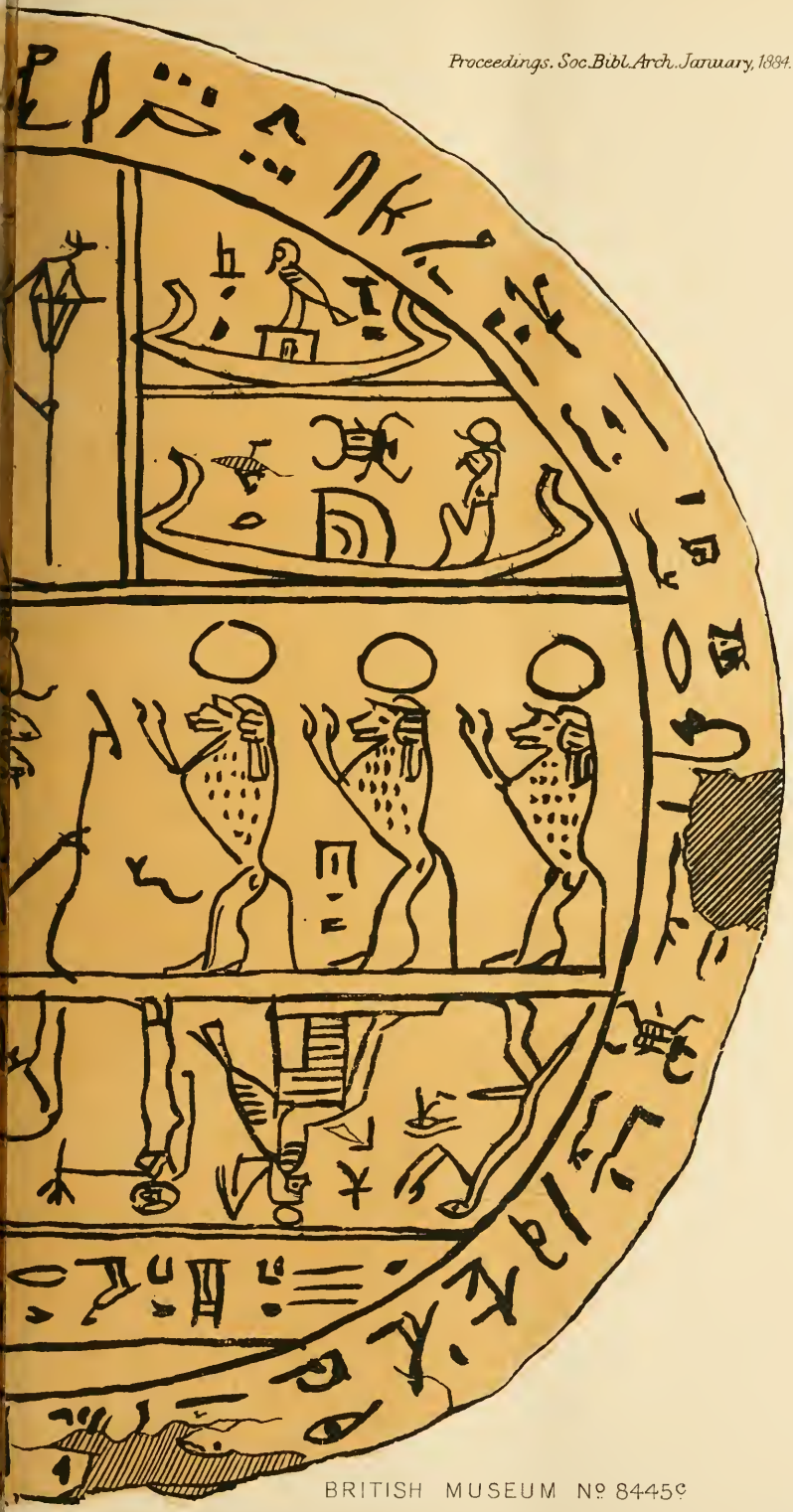
*  , *šu-ud-bu-bu*, "he caused to speak" (*dabābu*).

†  , *šu-uk-lu-ul*, "he caused to complete" (*kalālu*).

‡  , *šum-ru-ṣa-at*, "she made ill" (*marāṣu*).

§ , *šu-tas-ḫur*, "he causes to enclose" (*saḫāru*).

HYPOCEPHALUS IN THE



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HYPOCEPHALUS FROM THEBES IN THE

SSESSION OF SIR HENRY B. MEUX, BART.

The second vowel of the permansive Pu'ul could be also *i* (probably a modification of *u* (= *ü*), as in *nukkirat*, from *nakāru*.

The permansives of the Pu'ul and Shuph'ul (III. 1 and IV. 1) show traces of the true active conjugations Pa'el and Shaph'ul, in the forms *zammeraku*, and *šašluṭaku* (both 1st pers. sing.). These forms, however, are extremely rare, especially in the Shaph'ul.

## FURTHER REMARKS UPON THE PERMANSIVE KAL.

The form of the 1st pers. sing. in *-ānu* (*šaknānu*) seems to be more common than that in *-āni*.

The verb *raṣāpu*, "to build," also (aor. *arṣip*) seems to have the فعل form in the permansive (, *riṣip*, 3rd pers. sing. masc.).

The verb *mašālu*, "to be like," has, besides *mašil*, also the form *mušul*,* (like *lumun*). *Mušul* may, however, be defectively written for *muššul* (Pu'ul). *Marāṣu*, "to be sick," has also the form *maruṣ* for *mariṣ* in the Permansive : , *Bêl-êbuš, mâr Tin-tir* (*ki*), D.P. *gaššu*, *mâdu maruṣ*. *Šarru liḳbî-ma* D.P. *âsû lillik-ma lîmur-šu*, "Bêl-êbuš, the Babylonian *gaššu*,† is very ill. Let the king speak, and let the physician come and see him." (83-1-18. 195.)

The forms of the first pers. sing. and plur. of the permansive of verbs פ"ע (and פ"י) take *ī* or *ē* in the second syllable. Correct, therefore, , *êpšaku* (*Proceedings* for Nov. 7th, 1882, p. 26, l. 11) into , *êpšīku* or , *êpšēku*, and , *êpšāni* (l. 16) into , *êpšēni*. It is not unlikely that the corresponding forms of the strong verb *lamānu* should be also *limnīku* and *limnēni* respectively.

* *Pišrāti ša šume ša ârḫī, kî ḫanûe, êštin ana šanê lâ mušul* (): "The interpretations of the names of the months, when compared, are not like each other" (lit. "the first to the second is not like"). [This is the statement of an Assyrian scribe, in answer to a letter from the king, about 650 B.C. If there were uncertainty in this matter *then*, when Assyrian was a living language, what can be said about it now ?].

† Lit. : "the son of Babylon, the *gaššu*."

From an examination of the various forms of the Permansive Kal given in the *Proceedings*, pp. 25–27, certain rules (to which, however, there are many exceptions) as to the method of expressing the lengths of the vowels in Assyrian, may be inferred :—

In a word of one syllable, in which the vowel is long, the length of the vowel need not be indicated, as *ki-in* for *ḳi-i-in*, from *kânu*.

In a word of two syllables, in which one vowel is longer than the other, the long vowel is usually expressed, thus *ki-i-nu*, "they are fixed;" *de-e-ku*, "they are killed" (third pers. sing. masc.), rather than *ki-nu*, *de-ku ; ḳa-ta-a-ni*, "we have put an end to" (first pers. plur.), rather than *ḳa-ta-ni*.

In a word of two syllables, in which the vowels are of equal length, neither need be written as long, thus *ki-nu* (third pers. plur. masc.) for *ki-i-nu-u*, *ki-na-at* for *ki-i-na-a-at* (third pers. sing. fem.)*

It has been already shown that the commonest form of the Permansive Kal in Assyrian is فعِل (*šakin*, vowels *a—i*), but that two other forms, namely, فعَل (*sabat*, vowels *a—a*), and فعِل (*nikis*, vowels *i—i*), or فعُل (*lumun*, vowels *u—u*, or *ü—ü*), are occasionally met with.† Now the forms of the Aorist for the words *šakānu*, *ṣabātu*, and *nakāsu*, are *iškun*, *iṣbat*, and *ikkis* respectively, and it will be noticed that the root-vowel of the two latter is the same as the 2nd vowel of the Permansive (*ṣabat*. *nikis*). In such words as *šakānu* (Permansive *šakin*) also, it is not unlikely that we have the same connection between the Aorist and the Permansive, the vowels *i* and *u*, as may be seen by comparing such words as *purussū* and *purissū*, "decision," *burku* and *birku*, "knee,"‡ being closely allied in Assyrian.§

* The vowel-harmony and consonantal changes will be treated of in the section of phonology.

† It is very probable that, in the earliest times, there were many more of these forms, which died out one by one to give place to the usual form in *a-i*. The verb *mašālu*, "to be like," gives an interesting example of this.

‡ Or, "thigh."

§ It is not unlikely that the vowel *u*, in the cases where it interchanges with *i*, was pronounced as the German *ü* or French *u*. Since writing the above, I have come upon the interesting form 𒄩𒁹 𒁹𒌋 𒁹𒁹𒄩𒁹, *marus*, for *mariṣ*, "he is ill" (*see* p. 65.).

It is of course possible that these coincidences in the vowels of the Aorist and Permansive of the verbs above quoted may be the result of chance or of development; but they may also arise from an identity of forms, to which, in the one case, are attached prefixes and suffixes, and in the other suffixes only.

Additions and corrections to be made in the first paper,* in addition to those already mentioned :—

Page 25, line 12, *for* [šitaškunu), *read* šutaškunu.

„ line 13, *for* [šitanaškunu], *read* [šutanaškunu].

„ last line, *read* limnit.

Page 26, *read* [illegible] *for* [illegible] as the 1st pers. plur. balṭānu.†

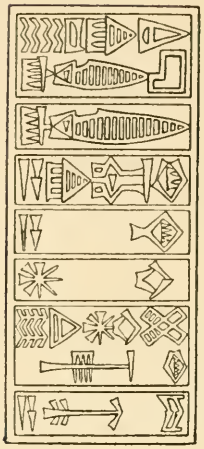
Page 27, line 4, *add* [illegible], dêku (3rd pers. plur. masc.).

„ line 16, strike out the brackets enclosing the 1st pers. plur. našâni.

* *Proceedings* for November, 1882.

† Cf. *Proceedings* for November, 1882, p. 28, lines 8 and 9.

## INSCRIPTION OF SARGON OF AGADE.



As it seems probable there will be some discussion rising out of the note by Mr. Pinches printed in the *Proceedings* of November 6th, 1883, I have made a careful drawing, about the original size, of the inscription of Sargon, carved upon the small marble object found by Mr. Rassam at Abu-Habbah, and now in the British Museum.

It is to be hoped that a more reliable drawing will be published of the inscription given by M. Menant in his "Recherches sur la glyptique orientale," and mentioned by Mr. Pinches in his note.

W. H. RYLANDS.

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The next meeting of the Society will be held at 9, Conduit Street, Hanover Square, W., on Tuesday, February 5th, 1884, at 8 p.m., when the following papers will be read :—

By Dr. J. PETERS :—"The Babylonian Origin of the Phœnician Alphabet."

By GEO. BERTIN :—"Notes on the Babylonian Contract Tablets."

N.B.—SUBSCRIPTIONS to the Society become due on the 1st of January each year. Those Members in arrear for the current year are requested to send the amount £1 1*s.* at once to the *Treasurer*, B. T. BOSANQUET, Esq., 73, Lombard Street, E.C.

PAPERS proposed to be read at the Monthly Meetings must be sent to the Secretary on or before the 10th of the preceding month.

Members having NEW MEMBERS to propose are requested to send in the names of the Candidates on or before the 10th of the month preceding the meeting at which the names are to be submitted to the Council. On application, the proper nomination forms may be obtained from the Secretary.

Vol. VIII, Part 1, of the "Transactions" of the Society will be issued in January next. Only a few complete sets of the "Transactions" of the Society now remain; they may be obtained by application to the Secretary, W. HARRY RYLANDS, F.S.A., 11, Hart Street, Bloomsbury, W.C.

The LIBRARY of the Society, at 11, Hart Street, Bloomsbury, W.C., is open to Members on Monday, Wednesday, and Friday, between the hours of 11 and 4, when the Secretary is in attendance to transact the general business of the Society.

As a new list of Members will shortly be printed, Members are requested to send any corrections or additions they may wish to have made in the list which was published in Vol. VII, Part 3.

Members are recommended to carefully preserve their copies of the "Proceedings," as they will not be reprinted at the end of the Volume of "Transactions," and if lost can only be supplied at a charge for each Part, or for the Volumes.

## THE FOLLOWING BOOKS ARE REQUIRED FOR THE LIBRARY OF THE SOCIETY.

---

BOTTA, Monuments de Ninive. 5 vols., folio. 1847–1850.
PLACE, Ninive et l'Assyrie, 1866–1869. 3 vols., folio.
BRUGSCH-BEY, Grammaire Démotique. 1 vol., folio.
——————— Geographische Inschriften Altaegyptische Denkmaeler. Vols. I—III (Brugsch).
——————— Recueil de Monuments Égyptiens, copiés sur lieux et publiés par H. Brugsch et J. Dümichen. (4 vols., and the text by Dümichen of vols. 3 and 4.)
DÜMICHEN, Historische Inschriften, &c., 1st series, 1867.
——————————————— 2nd series, 1869.
————— Altaegyptische Kalender-Inschriften, 1866.
——————————— Tempel-Inschriften, 1862. 2 vols., folio.
GOLENISCHEFF, Die Metternichstele. Folio, 1877.
LEPSIUS, Nubian Grammar, &c., 1880.
DE ROUGÉ, Études Égyptologiques. 13 vols., complete to 1880.
WRIGHT, Arabic Grammar and Chrestomathy.
SCHROEDER, Die Phönizische Sprache.
HAUPT, Die Sumerischen Familiengesetze.
SCHRADER, Die Keilinschriften und das Alte Testament. 1872.
RAWLINSON, CANON, 6th and 7th Ancient Monarchies.
——————————— History of Egypt. 2 vols. 1882.
OSBURN, The Antiquities of Egypt. 8vo., 1841.
ROBINSON, Biblical Researches. 8vo., 1841.
PIERRET, Dictionnaire d'Archéologie Égyptienne. 8vo. Paris, 1875.
BURKHARDT, Eastern Travels.
WILKINSON, Materia Hieroglyphica. Malta, 1824–30. (*Text only.*)
CHABAS, Mélanges Égyptologiques. 1862–1873.
——— L'Égyptologie. Tomes I and II, 1874 and 1875.
MASPERO, Du genre épistolaire chez les Égyptiens de l'époque Phraonique. 8vo. Paris, 1872.
———— De Carchemis oppidi Situ et Historia Antiquissimâ. 8vo. Paris, 1872.

MONUMENT FROM PALMYRA.

MONUMENTS FROM PALMYRA.

INSCRIPTION FROM NABLUS

Now in the Museum of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society.

# *PROCEEDINGS*

OF

# THE SOCIETY

OF

# BIBLICAL ARCHÆOLOGY.

## FOURTEENTH SESSION, 1883-84.

*Fourth Meeting, 5th February*, 1884.

SAMUEL BIRCH, D.C.L., LL.D., &c., PRESIDENT,

IN THE CHAIR.

The following Presents were announced, and thanks ordered to be returned to the Donors :—

From the Royal Society : — The Proceedings. Vol. XXXV. No. 227. Vol. XXXVI. No. 228. 8vo. London. 1883.

From the Royal Geographical Society :—The Proceedings and Monthly Record of Geography. Vol. VI. No. 2. 8vo. February, 1884.

From the Royal Institute of British Architects :— Proceedings. Session 1883-84. Nos. 6 and 7. 4to. 10th and 24th January, 1884.

From the Royal Archæological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland :—The Archæological Journal. Vol. XL. No. 160. 1883. 8vo. London. 1883.

From the Palestine Exploration Fund :—The Quarterly Statement. January, 1884. 8vo. London.

From Joseph Offord, jun. :—Gutmeinung über den Talmud der Hebräer. Verfasset von Karl Fischer. Wien. 8vo. 1883.

From the Author :—Kadesh-Barnea, its importance and probable site, with the story of a hunt for it, etc., etc. By H. Clay Trumbull, D.D. 8vo. New York. 1884.

From the Author :—Inscriptions Palmyréniennes inédites, un tarif sous l'empire Romain. Par le Marquis de Vogüé. 8vo. Paris. 1883. Extrait du Journal Asiatique.

From the Author :—Un acte de vente conservé en deux exemplaires. Par M. Jules Oppert.

Reprint from the Zeitsch. für Keilschriftforschung. No. 1. 1884.

—— Deux textes très anciens de la Chaldée. Par M. Jules Oppert. Extrait des Comptes Rendus de l'Academie des Inscriptions et Belles-lettres.

The following have been purchased by the Council for the Library of the Society :—

Handbücher der alten geschichte. 1. Aegyptische geschichte. Von A. Wiedemann. 1 Abteilung von den ältesten zeiten bis zum tode Tutmes III. 8vo. Gotha. 1884.

Les pierres gravées de la Haute-Asie. Recherches sur la glyptique Orientale. Par M. Joachim Menant. Première partie, cylindres de la Chaldée. 8vo. Paris. 1883.

The following were nominated for election at the next Meeting on February 5th, 1884 :—

Rev. Gavin Carlyle, M.A., 5, Eaton Gardens, Ealing.
Arthur Davis, 30, Abbey Road, St. John's Wood, N.W.
E. Towry White, 31, Lansdowne Road, Clapham Road, S.W.
John Lang Currie, St. Kilda, Victoria.
Rev. Thomas Ladds, M.A., Leighton Vicarage, Kimbolton, St. Neots.

The following were elected Members of the Society, having been nominated on January 8th, 1884 :—

Rev. Lysander Dickerman, D.D., Boston, Mass., U.S.A.
Albert Droege, No. 75, Shepherd's Bush Road, West Kensington.
Francis A. Russell, The School House, Craven Park, Willesden, N.W.

To be added to the List of Subscribers :—

The Library of the British and Foreign Bible Society, Queen Victoria Street, E.C.
The Library of the Theological Institute of Connecticut, U.S.A.

A Paper by Dr. John P. Peters, entitled "The Babylonian Origin of the Phœnician Alphabet," was read by the Secretary.

The author mentioned that the testimony of the ancients had been ordinarily cited as an argument to prove the Egyptian origin of the Phœnician alphabet; but this, it was stated, was not the case in every instance, as some of the classics, for example, Pliny, Clemens Alexandrinus, and others, give it an Assyrian origin. These, with the opinion arrived at by Tacitus, were considered; and Dr. Peters mentioned that the present theories of the Egyptian origin of the alphabet, while seeking to use as an incidental proof the testimony of ancient writers, relies in the main on proof of another sort. The theories are really based, in general, on de Rougé's work, and for the purposes of the present argument might be regarded as one; although naturally the objections now to be urged would apply with a force varying somewhat according to the individual modifications of the theory. It was pointed out that in general the value of the Egyptian character is different from that of the Phœnician character supposed to be derived from it; so with reference to the first sign of the alphabet. The word for *eagle* in Egyptian begins with a letter corresponding to א. In borrowing this letter, then, the Phœnicians, instead of borrowing the names with the letter, as the Greeks did at a later time, are supposed to have borrowed the alphabetical significance or initial sound, merely, chosen a word commencing with that sound, and applied to it as the name of the letter. In this particular case they are supposed to have been guided in their choice by a fancied resemblance to a bull's head—a resemblance which, although often remarked in old forms of the Phœnician, does not seem to exist in any form of the Egyptian character. In the case of almost all the other letters no such resemblance can be suggested, and the Phœnician names are supposed to have been chosen at random. Such a method of treating the letter-names may be possible; *à priori*, it is more probable that in borrowing the letters of a ready-made and developed alphabet, a foreign language would either borrow the names essentially unchanged, as did the Greek, or construct mere sound-names, as did the Latin; to a great extent Arabic also. Supposing, however, that the names of the Phœnician letters were formed in the manner claimed by de Rougé and his followers, they must at the time of their formation have been actually existing, and almost certainly common words. In that case we ought to find those words or their equivalents in the Hebrew, Syriac, Samaritan, Ethiopic, and Greek alphabets, or at least be able to ascertain the roots through a comparison of the names in those languages.

The phenomenon presented is this: in the alphabets derived from the Phœnician the names of some of the letters are actual words, the names of others are inexplicable as words. This is not accounted for by any form of the theory of the Egyptian origin of the alphabet yet suggested.

As to a resemblance of external form between the oldest Phœnician characters and their supposed Egyptian parents, the opinion of Ebers and Halévy, both advocates of the Egyptian theory, is that a "reasonable" resemblance can be claimed in but 13 out of 22 cases (and, to M. Halévy's mind, that resemblance is with the Egyptian hieroglyphs rather than with the hieratic characters). In an examination of the forms presented by De Rougé, Lenormant, Euting, and Bertin, I have found about that number of forms from which the Phœnician characters might have been derived, but no such striking resemblances as to form the thought of such a derivation in the mind of one not actually searching for it. It is true that the length of time elapsing between the date at which, according to the Egyptian theory, the Phœnicians borrowed their alphabet and the date of the earliest inscriptions in the Phœnician character, is so great as to afford room for considerable changes in the forms of the letters. I should not, therefore, wish to claim more for this argument than that it neutralizes the argument from external form advanced by the advocates of the Egyptian theory, until they have first proved the probability of their case from other sources.

It is easier to show by hostile criticism the untenableness of any theory than to present a substitute which will resist the same treatment on the part of others. Deecke attempted to prove that the Phœnician alphabet was an offspring of the new Assyrian cuneiform, a thesis which condemns itself in the very statement. It has been suggested to me that the alphabet originated among the Hittites. Such a suggestion in the present state of our knowledge stands outside of the possibility of direct argument either for or against, and can be taken into consideration only in case nothing else presents itself. Some from classical times down to the present have supposed that the Phœnicians were themselves the inventors of the alphabet. This seems to me like a breach of the laws of nature, like the birth of an Athene full grown from the head of Zeus; for, so far at least as I can see we should then have the Phœnician alphabet before us a completed product from the outset, a letter-alphabet which had not passed through the prior stages of picture-writing and syllabism. Against the theory of the Hebrew origin of the alphabet, which some have held through an excess of misdirected piety, the same objection may be urged with perhaps still greater cogency.

Wuttke, in his *Geschichte der Schrift*, came very near what I believe to be the true explanation of the origin of the Phœnician alphabet, namely, that it grew out of the old Babylonian cuneiform.

In a foot note Dr. Peters gave the following reference, which he received since the above was written, from Dr. F. Delitzsch. It is from Duncker's "Geschichte des Alterthums," (Vol. I, pp. 212-13).

"The Armenians had adopted this system [cuneiform], which they shortened and simplified from the Babylonians and Assyrians. The Medes and Persians borrowed the same system; but in the Persian Achaemenian inscriptions it has already reached the phase of sound-writing, and almost passed over into an alphabetic system. The western Semitic races were undoubtedly acquainted with the Babylonian system. Indeed, that system forced its way over Syria as far as the island of Cyprus, where, peculiarly modified, it shows a thoroughly syllabic character. Side by side with this, however, a cursive alphabet had been developed among the Syrians and Phœnicians (just as in Egypt the hieratic system had arisen alongside of the hieroglyphic), which, working on a material other than brick, shortened and rounded the wedge signs and groups of signs, and at the same time reduced them more and more to sound symbols. In this way arose the Phœnician (Aramæan) alphabet. Whether this development took place essentially on the basis of the cuneiform character, or whether, working from the other side, the Egyptian hieratic exerted an influence, is difficult to determine. The latter is, however, hardly probable, since the above-mentioned advance of the cuneiform system to Cyprus leads to the supposition that in Phœnicia also it would have formed the point of departure for any new development. That the Phœnician alphabet was in use in the year 1000 B.C. is unquestionable. Saalschütz (*Forschungen im Gebiete der hebräisch-ägyptischen Archäologie I*, Königsberg, 1838), as quoted by Olshausen, argues that the Phœnicians adopted the alphabet from the Hebrews, and they from the Egyptians, who on their part learned writing from the Babylonians."

Phœnician tradition seems to agree with the Biblical narrative in describing Babylonia as the country from which the Phœnicians emigrated to the shores of the Mediterranean. We know that writing was an old art in Babylonia as early as 3800 B.C., and that it was in use for common purposes of life before 3000 B.C. Now while we cannot fix with precision the date of the Phœnician emigration, there is, apparently, good reason for supposing that it was much nearer 2000 than 3000 B.C. It is scarcely to be supposed that the Phœnicians, even had they been rude and uncultivated at the time

of their emigration, which there is no reason for supposing to have been the case, should have left a country where writing was in such common use without taking some knowledge of that art with them. And if they did take it with them, it is scarcely conceivable that they should afterwards have cast it away and invented a whole alphabet *de novo*. They would rather, however inventive and ingenious they might be, and indeed because they were so, adapt and develop that which already existed. Nor would they be likely to cast aside the characters to which they were accustomed in order to adopt a foreign alphabet. It seems probable, however, considering the nature of the intercourse existing between Egypt and Sidon, that they would have taken hints from the Egyptians for the development of the system they had. It may have been in some measure Egyptian influence which led them ultimately to develop an alphabet from the mixed ideographic and syllabic system of Babylonia. They may possibly have borrowed some letters from the Egyptian, and they pretty certainly borrowed their writing material, which latter must of itself have done much towards modifying the original forms of letters, but, as I have already argued on other grounds, there is small likelihood that they actually borrowed their alphabet from Egypt.

To the objections which might perhaps be argued in favour of an independent origin of the Phœnician alphabet, that we cannot bring evidence of any transition state, and that there is a period of about one thousand years after the emigration from Babylonia before we have any writing in Phœnician characters, I would reply: the Phœnicians were in no sense a monumental people. Inscriptions from Phœnician colonies in Sardinia, Malta, France, and elsewhere are older than anything from Phœnicia proper. The Mesha stone, Siloah inscription, possibly even some Sabaean inscriptions, are older; and the Greek inscriptions antedate everything, even the Mesha stone. There is no question but that the Greeks derived their alphabet from the Phœnicians, and not *vice versâ*, and yet we have Greek inscriptions fully half a millennium older than anything found in Phœnicia. That which accounts for the lack of written remains during those five hundred years may account for it also during the thousand years preceding.

It is only necessary, however, to examine the different roots and meanings proposed, to see that many of the names are not words at all. After having considered these roots and meanings, Dr. Peters proceeded elaborately, and with considerable trouble, to examine also many of the Assyrian characters in their various forms, and build up the proofs of his suggestion to obtain a new origin for the Phœnician alphabet.

The following remarks were made by the Rev. Isaac Taylor, M.A., LL.D.:—

Dr. Peters' paper appears to have been written before my recent work on the "Origin and History of the Alphabet" could have reached America. This may account for his having neglected to deal with certain difficulties which stand in the way of his theory. It may therefore be well to lay before the Society a brief statement of some obvious objections which he will have to meet.

In the first place, it must be remembered that the ground on which Dr. Peters seeks to build is already occupied by a substantial edifice, which will have to be demolished before another structure can be erected in its place.

The arguments by which De Rougé's theory of the Egyptian origin of the Semitic alphabet is supported have secured a very general assent among European scholars. De Rougé's Egyptian theory may be regarded as being already the received solution of the problem.

Dr. Peters well remarks that "it is easier to show by hostile criticism the untenableness of any theory than to present a substitute which will resist the same treatment on the part of others." He should therefore have undertaken the easier task of demolishing De Rougé's theory before entering on the more difficult one of establishing his own.

This he can hardly be said even to have attempted. He alleges that the value of the Egyptian characters is, in general, different from that of the Semitic letters derived from them. De Rougé in almost every instance connects each Semitic letter with the Egyptian character which normally corresponds to it in the Egyptian transliterations of Semitic names.

Secondly, Dr. Peters lays chief stress on the fact that the names of the Semitic letters are not the names of the Egyptian characters. He thinks that if the Semitic had been obtained from Egypt, the Egyptian letter, names would have been borrowed, instead of new acrologic names, significant in Semitic speech, being invented. Now it is very curious that the course which Dr. Peters thinks so improbable has been that usually adopted in the case of the transmission of alphabets. Except in the case of the transmission of the Phœnician alphabet to the Greeks, there is hardly a single case of the names being transmitted along with the letters to non-Semitic nations. The

Slavonians, the Irish, the Goths, the Latins, and the Indians, all invented new names for the letters they adopted. The presumption is therefore the other way.

The greater part of the Semitic letter-names are acrologic terms, significant in Semitic speech; *aleph* denoting an "ox," *beth* a "house," *gimel* a "camel," *daleth* a "door," and so on. These were pictorially appropriate, an acrologic noun being selected which best described the earliest form of the letter. Of the twenty-two letters, the names of seventeen can be thus satisfactorily explained. Of only five letter-names is the explanation obscure or doubtful (Alphabet, Vol. II, p. 175). Dr. Peters' chief argument, that from the names of the letters, therefore breaks down.

The way in which he himself reconstructs the Semitic names by arbitrary additions of final letters and even syllables to the Babylonian syllabics, is, on the other hand, surrounded by difficulties. As Horne Tooke observed, "Letters, like soldiers, drop off on a long march." This is seen to have occurred in the Syriac and Arabic forms of the earlier Semitic names. The ancient bisyllabic names have been worn down by attrition to the monosyllabic forms, which Dr. Peters, in numerous cases, assumes to have been the primitive forms. Thus the forms *gimel* and *resh* must be older than *gam* and *ru*, and not later, as he asserts.

Next, as to the resemblance between the forms of the Egyptian and Semitic characters. Out of the twenty-two letters the resemblance of form in sixteen or seventeen cases is as great as could be expected, considering the lapse of time, nine or ten centuries, between the earliest Phœnician inscriptions and the probable date at which the alphabet was obtained from Egypt. There are only five or six difficult cases out of the twenty-two.

Dr. Peters meets this argument in a very peculiar way. He says the lapse of time "neutralizes the argument from external form advanced by the advocates of the Egyptian theory," and then goes on to support his own theory by resemblances of form between the cuneiform characters and the Semitic letters. He cannot be allowed both to run with the hare and to hunt with the hounds. He says, in effect: If a Semitic letter does not greatly resemble its Egyptian prototype, then there is no reason for connecting them; if it does, the resemblance is to be explained by the lapse of time having produced the likeness. But as to his own theory his argument is the other way. If his cuneiform prototype resembles the Semitic

letter, well and good; if not, the want of resemblance is to be accounted for by lapse of time.

But the argument from form does not stand on the same footing in the two theories. De Rougé confines himself, with hardly an exception, to the Egyptian alphabet of twenty-five letters; he rejects all the ideograms and syllabics. He connects each Semitic letter with the Egyptian character which phonetically corresponds to it in the transliteration of Semitic names. He gives himself practically no range of choice. He has only the twenty-five characters of the Hieratic alphabet out of which to select the prototypes of the twenty-two Semitic letters. Dr. Peters, on the other hand, picks and chooses among the numerous cuneiform syllabics, he does not even confine himself to them, but in several cases he has recourse to ideograms.

Thus, to take the case of the ideogram for *bîtu*, a house, in which he finds the prototype of the Semitic letter *beth*, there are no less than seven phonetic values which this character bears; and there are seven other syllabic characters, most of which are highly polyphonous, from which he might have selected a prototype for the letter *beth;* and yet with all this immense range of choice the result which he obtains cannot be considered by any means convincing.

For my own part, I am unable to see any convincing resemblance between the Moabite ʃ and the early form , or then later form .

I have calculated that there are at least 500 cuneiform characters from which, on Dr. Peters' principles, the prototypes of the twenty-two Semitic letters might have been selected. Hence, on an average, for each letter he has between twenty and thirty characters among which to select his prototype; whereas De Rougé has only one, or occasionally two. The mathematical chances are actually in favour of Dr. Peters being able to find a colourable resemblance of form with so a great range of choice; whereas the chances are many thousands to one against so many repeated resemblances of form being due to accident in De Rougé's case, in which there is practically no range of choice whatever.

Therefore it may fairly be said that any argument from resemblance of form brought forward by Dr. Peters counts for nothing, whereas each of the numerous resemblances adduced by De Rougé counts for a great deal.

In fact, I would go so far as to say that Dr. Peters' theory, even

if it were true, would be incapable of proof, unless inscriptions exhibiting an earlier syllabic or ideographic stage of the Semitic alphabetic should come to light. At present no proof is possible which would satisfy any scholar practically acquainted with the quicksands which beset the investigator of alphabets.

Again, in De Rougé's case the comparison is made between single documents of definite date, that is between the characters of the Papyrus Prissi on the one hand, and those of the Moabite Stone on the other, whereas Dr. Peters imposes on himself no such limits. He takes into account not only the Moabite Stone, but he uses Greek, Etruscan, Italic, Aramean, Israelite, and even Ethiopic forms on the one hand, and on the other a miscellaneous collection of cuneiform characters, Accadian, and Semitic Babylonian; even resorting to Assyrian forms, which must be later by many centuries than any from which the Phœnicians could have borrowed their letters. If his results are to be judged by the same standard as de Rougé's, he ought to have confined himself to some single Semitic monument, say the Moabite Stone, and to one definite dated type of the cuneiform writing.

But to pass from the comparison of the methods, it is most true, as Dr. Peters observes, that the most important point of all is the "probability of the case." By this he means the chronological and geographical conditions. Could the Phœnicians have obtained the art of writing from Egypt? Could they have obtained it from Babylonia? If they could have obtained it from either source, *which*, historically, is the most probable? These questions must be answered as a preliminary to all arguments based on the names, or forms, or values of the letters.

Dr. Peters bases his whole theory on what may be designated as one of the most vague and shadowy of all the ethnological legends of the ancient world, namely, the supposed migration of the Phœnician nation from the "Erythean Sea" to the seats which they occupied in historic times. This legend, based by Strabo on the fact that there was a town named Tyrus on the Persian Gulf, has been decisively rejected by Movers, the great historian of the Phœnicians, and is put aside as a baseless legend by Professor Sayce in his Herodotus. The real name of Tyrus has been shown to be Tylus, which cannot be connected with the Phœnician Tzur, nor can Arad, also in the Persian Gulf, be connected with Aradus in Phœnicia, the real name of which was Arvad.

The chronological difficulties are no less formidable. Dr. Peters' theory assumes that the Phœnician migration from Babylonia was later in date than the Semitic conquest of Babylonia. The probabilities are wholly the other way.

The ethnological table in Genesis x makes Sidon, the first-born of Canaan, older than Heth, the eponymus of the Hittites, proving that in the 11th century B.C. the Phœnicians were believed to be the most ancient people in the land. This opinion derives confirmation from the fact that Herodotus was told by the priests of Baal-Melcarth at Tyre that their temple was built at a date corresponding to 2750 B.C. Without attaching undue importance to these statements, we know from the Egyptian monuments that in the time of the Middle Empire (XIIIth dynasty) the Phœnician trade with Egypt had begun, while during the time of the Hyksos dominion the population of Phœnicia had become so great that it had overflowed into Epypt, a Phœnician colony of such magnitude being established in the Eastern Delta that the region was called CAPHTOR, or "Greater Phœnicia," being at that time apparently more populous than Phœnicia itself. That this overflow should have taken place at this early period leads to the conclusion that Sidon, the mother city of Tyre, must have been founded long before 2000 B.C.; while the migration of the Phœnician race from Babylonia, if it ever took place, must be relegated to a still more remote antiquity.

But at this distant date, which is the only possible time which can be assigned for the shadowy legend of the Phœnician migration, Babylonia was occupied by the Accadians, a Turanian people, the inventors of the cuneiform writing. The Semitic conquest of Babylonia, which was effected by the kings of Elam advancing from the East upon Babylonia, cannot well be placed earlier than 2000 B.C., at which time the Phœnicians had long settled at Sidon. Therefore the Phœnicians could not have brought with them the Semitic Babylonian script, as the Phœnicians were at Sidon before any Semites were at Babylon.

The supposed fact of the Phœnician migration, on which Dr. Peters' whole argument turns, would therefore have no significance, even if it could be proved to be a fact. Dr. Peters' is precluded from arguing that the Phœnicians derived their writing from the Accadian cuneiform, since he largely bases his identifications, not on the proto-Babylonian, but on the Semitic Babylonian. It was, he says, the correspondence in meaning and form between the Semitic

character for *alpu*, an ox, and the Phœnician *aleph*, that first suggested to him the theory he has placed before us.

The geographical and chronological conditions, which are such a formidable difficulty in the way of Dr. Peters' theory, are, on the other hand, among the strongest arguments in favour of the Egyptian origin proposed by De Rougé.

There are valid reasons, which are put forward by Ewald, for believing that the Semitic alphabet was not in existence before the Hebrews went down into Egypt, but that they possessed it at the time of the Exodus. The five centuries during which Semitic dynasties ruled in Egypt, and during which a vast Phœnician colony was settled in the Delta, would give ample opportunity for the formation of the Semitic alphabet out of the Egyptian Hieratic; and the probable date of the invention of the Semitic alphabet agrees with the period of the Hyksos domination. There are no chronological or geographical difficulties whatever in the way of De Rougé's theory, which, on the other hand, conforms as remarkably with the historical probabilities of the case, as the rival theory of Dr. Peters runs counter to them all.

As to the objections which have been brought against De Rougé's theory, I by no means undervalue them, but time will only permit me to refer you to the very full discussion of them which I have given in my History of the Alphabet. Permit me only to say that I do not think there is one of them to which a sufficient answer cannot be given.

There is one remaining observation which by itself seems to me to be fatal not only to Dr. Peters' theory, but to any similar attempt to derive the Semitic alphabet from the Semitic cuneiform script. Its full importance can only be realized by those who have themselves studied the history of writing. It is this. Dr. Peters believes that the Phœnicians brought the cuneiform writing from Babylonia, and developed it into an alphabet in their own land. If so we should infallibly have been able to detect survivals of syllabisms, if not of ideograms, and of determinatives. This is proved by the whole history of the development of writing. We see such survivals in the proto-Median cuneiform, in the Persian cuneiform alphabet, or first Achæmenian, in the Cypriot syllabary, and in the Japanese writing. Not only so, but if the Phœnician alphabet had been developed from a syllabary, the number of characters would have been more numerous than were required, instead of less numerous,

as there would in fact have been homophonic characters. The formation of a pure alphabetic system, as far as experience teaches us, is a process so difficult for the human mind, that it was only possible in the rare conjunction of favourable circumstances, which has occurred only once in the world's history. A highly cultured nation, the Egyptians, had, for countless centuries, been developing the difficult conception of pure consonantal writing out of an ancient syllabary; this had grown into a cursive script, and out of this a body of foreign settlers or conquerors, of alien blood and speech, adopted the alphabetic elements, while rejecting the cumbrous apparatus of syllabics and determinatives by which it was accompanied. A new race, in commercial contact with the old, could alone get rid of the survivals from the ancient picture-writing.

Mr. Geo. Bertin, after pointing out that the theory revived by Dr. Peters could hardly be considered as a new one, called attention to several important points which he thought Dr. Peters had neglected to take into account in his paper. The mere forms of the letters especially, when not confined to the inscriptions of one period, cannot establish any derivation beyond doubt. How would it be explained, if Dr. Peters is in the right, that the Phœnicians, in borrowing the letters from the Babylonians, reversed the order of the writing? for the Babylonians wrote from left to right, and the Phœnicians from right to left. How could it be that the Phœnicians, in writing on stone, transformed the lapidary characters of the Babylonians into cursive letters? If the Phœnicians had done so, they would have had the letters of each word joined by ligatures. Another most important point is the archæological evidence; if the Phœnicians had retained enough of the Babylonian influence to have borrowed the alphabet from Mesopotamia, their art would naturally show it, but all that we possess of Phœnician remains bear a strong Egyptian and not Babylonian influence. I believe with Dr. Peters that the Phœnicians came from the Persian Gulf, but it is no argument in favour of his theory, for it must have been at a very remote period, and we have not any trace of the Phœnician alphabet previous to the Moabite Stone.

De Rougé's discovery of the Egyptian origin of the Phœnician alphabet was a flash of genius, but as it always happens in such cases, his theory wanted amending and improving. Hardly any of his followers admit his derivations without alteration. As for myself,

formerly I did not believe in it at all, but arrived at similar conclusions by another way, while studying quite another question. I arrived at it by mere accident: my theory grew from the facts, and the facts were not fitted to it. I think, perhaps presumptuously, that Dr. Peters would have modified his theory if before writing he had read my paper on the subject. I tried to take into account not merely the fugitive forms of the letters, but also their names as given by the Semitic and Greek grammarians, the order of the alphabet, and the archæological evidences.

Without giving my theory, I may say in few words what I believe: The Semitic invaders of Egypt called Hyksos, thought of forming an alphabet of their own out of the Hieratic Egyptian writing; they chose the character in such a way that when translated into Semitic speech the words gave the initial letter expressed by the signs; and they retained the complete words to express the name of the characters as letters.

Dr. Peters, however, in his theory takes no account of time, influence, name and order of letters; he is simple guided, and, I think, misled by the form of the characters. His derivations are besides often unsatisfactory, for instance, he derives the *daleth*, in Hebrew ד, and the *resh*, in Hebrew ר, from the same Babylonian sign . Following De Rougé's theory, the similarity of the two Semitic letters is simple to account for, the *daleth* being derived from the Hieratic sign for the hand , and the *resh* from the Hieratic for the mouth. The likeness between the characters was already so great in Egyptain Hieratic, that at the time of the XXth dynasty the scribe, for the sake of clearness, wrote the mouth always with a line so or , even when used phonetically.

Remarks were added by the Rev. A. Löwy, Mr. Henry Bradley, and the President.

A Paper, entitled "Notes on the Babylonian Contract Tablets," was read by Mr. George Bertin:—

The author mentioned at the outset that hispaper had not been written in connection with the discussion which lately took place between some Assyriologists, and in which he had no wish to take part. Having copied about five or six hundred tablets, Mr. Bertin considered that he was able to speak of their contents and character.

The Babylonian contracts tablets, that is, those of the same class as the often-quoted Egibi tablets, are really trade documents, recording the sales of slaves, cattle, sheep, horses, houses, furniture, fields, etc., loans of money or corn, agreements for hiring slaves, contracts of adoption, marriage, donations, wills, etc. It is therefore an error to attribute to these documents any legal character.

The tablets are of the utmost interest from every point of view; they show us the Babylonians in their everyday life, give us the actual expressions they used, the commercial language as they spoke it. They reveal many curious expressions and forms of words. One found such words as *iddissu* for *iddin-su*, "he gave it," *nadi seim* for *nadin seim*, "corn-dealer." Many of these texts are nearly identical, and therefore afford great opportunity for comparison, and are as good as duplicate copies, with variants, of the same deed; many expressions are so explained, and new values for the ideograms are ascertained; for instance, in the name of a woman the place of the sign is taken by the word *li-it*, feminine form of , *li-h-u*, "powerful;" in another proper name the sign is replaced by *Ka-sir*, thus giving the true reading of many names. The group is also substituted to the sign , which has therefore one more value. Mr. Bertin mentioned that in one of his papers he had supposed that the lengthened feminine form of the numerals expressed the fractional numbers. This hypothesis is confirmed by a tablet recording the sale of a field, where, in the measurement, was found the expression II *qane* III *ribāti*, "2 canes 3 quarters." Another numeral expression is replaced sometimes by , *śuddū*. This word, noticed first by Hincks, was translated by "six," and later on by Professor Sayce by "sixth;" but it appears to mean "sixtieth," as it is found after the ideogram for sekel to express the weak sekel.

Often when the words for silver (money), grain, or kalumma, occur twice in a contract, the second time they appear with the addition of the aspirate , so: , *kaspuh*, , *kalummah*, ; this last cannot be transcribed with safety, the aspirate in these cases is the remnant of the case-ending, rightly called by my master, Dr. J. Oppert, the emphatic state, for it is used as the emphatic state in Syriac. Dr. Oppert was therefore justified in transcribing it in Hebrew characters by ה.

These contract tablets give many curious expressions; one which occurs rather often is , generally read *ḥarrani*, "road," but it seems to mean "business," "trade." Often the tablets contain such expressions as , *kaspu ḥarrani sa*, "silver" (money) "of the business of" (so and so).

An interesting tablet records the contract of two Babylonians entering into partnership, and each bringing two mana, forming a total of four mana, as , "mother of business," *i.e.*, "capital." In Italian, by a similar figure of speech, the word *patrimonio* is used in the same way. In the Babylonian contract tablets there are many other figurative expressions of the same kind.

The highest value of these tablets is certainly as contemporaneous documents giving particulars touching the social condition and daily life of the Babylonians. They show the independent position of the woman: she trades and barters and makes contracts, her husband being often witness and even her employé. The Babylonians, in order to borrow, often mortgaged not only their house and property, but their children, and even their own body, as did the Romans. Often these transactions were carried on by the chief slave, called no doubt for shortness, *galla*, "the great;" there were many other kinds of slaves, the names of these different classes have been a great puzzle. There are, among others: , , , , and a few others not found so often; these names are sometimes, but not always, preceded by the determinative prefix . The numerous sale-tablets might give, if tabulated, the average price of every article sold in Babylon; the price of a male slave is generally one mana five sekel; that of a female slave, only half a mana, five sekel.

A very great number of contracts record the loan of money and grain to be repaid in money and grain; this is explained by the system of taxation. As is still the custom in Turkey, the taxes were generally, in Babylonia, paid in kind, that is, in grain, corn, fruits, etc. The agriculturist had, in a bad season, to borrow from the usurers money to live on, and grain to pay for the tax; and had, as is now practised, to repay what was borrowed in money and grain.

Some Babylonian speculators traded in binding slaves to hire, as now-a-days people lend out horses, which accounts for some slaves being marked to prevent their being lost in case they ran away; as in Rome and Greece, female slaves were to be hired, and in

Babylon they were also sometimes marked to insure their identity. When a hiring contract was drawn out, it specified often the amount to be paid to the lender if the slave was lost or killed.

These contract tablets make also some rather surprising revelations; for instance, it has been thought that the darique was a word derived from the name of Darius, who first introduced coined money, but a contract of the 12th year of Nabonidus contains the word [illegible], *da-ri-ku*, that is five years before the conquest of Babylon by Cyrus, and twenty-two before the accession of Darius. *Dariku* must be a Semitic word, and it seems indeed strange that it should ever have been derived from the name of the Persian king. *Dariku* besides does not seem to mean a piece of money, but a certain measure, and was perhaps to be applied to a piece of money at a later time, like "pound" in English. The coined money *nuḥḥutu* (as detected by Mr. Pinches) appears only at the time of Darius. Another tablet of the thirteenth year of the same king has the impression of two seals, one, that of a judge, has the image of a cock clearly represented; the gallinaceæ tribe had therefore preceded the Persian in Babylon, contrary to the accepted notion.

Mr. Bertin stated that he believed these contract tablets would clear up many difficult questions. The only drawback was that the texts were very difficult, not only on account of the new words introduced, which were not found anywhere else, but on account of the cursive character of the writing. The most experienced eye could easily make a mistake in reading a sign, and one mistake might completely lead astray the translator. For instance, lately a continental scholar gave the translation of a contract where, in copying, he had misread the sign [illegible], "wife," for [illegible], "sister;" in consequence of this mistake it was only with the greatest difficulty that he had obtained sense at all in the text. The contract is indeed of rather a complicated character in itself, but it is a serious consequence to be obliged to admit that the Babylonian mentioned in the tablet had married his own sister.

It was noticed that the earliest Babylonian contracts, like the Assyrian ones published in the volumes of Western Asian Inscriptions, are very simple, but they become more complicated with every new king, till the time of the Persian rule, when they are most complicated and even intricate; but often for this very reason they give more particulars touching the way of living and social intercourse of the Babylonians.

The study of the proper names would reveal many interesting points; for instance, we see at all times, even in the remotest period, Semitic and Akkadian names side by side when the Akkadian was the only language used. This proves that it was possible that the Semites had been in Babylonia previous to the non-Semitic race, and explains the presence of so many Semitic words in the Akkadian vocabulary. Akkadists are too prone to consider that these words must have been borrowed by the Semites, when it might be the reverse.

Mr. Bertin terminated by pointing to these documents, written from day to day, as most important in clearing up many points touching the calendar; besides the second *Adar*, in the time of Nebuchadnezzar, a second *Ulul* is found. We find also a curious expression: [illegible], "day 21 *lal*," the meaning of which escapes us, but which seems to be a kind of 29th of February or supplementary day.

If his paper was printed, Mr. Bertin announced his intention of giving a specimen contract of each class.

The following Communication has been received from M. Menant, addressed to Mr. Theo. G. Pinches:—

Cher Monsieur,

J'ai lu dans les *Proceedings* de la Société d'Archéologie Biblique, à la date du 6 Novembre dernier, votre communication *On Babylonian Art illustrated by Mr. H. Rassam's latest Discoveries.* Permettez moi de rectifier dans votre intéressante dissertation quelques points qui touchent à l'appréciation d'un cylindre Chaldéen dont je me suis également occupé. J'ai fait connaître ce monument, il y a déjà plus de six ans, dans une note que j'ai eu l'honneur de présenter le 26 Octobre 1877 à l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres. J'ai également cité ce cylindre dans mes *Recherches sur la Glyptique orientale* en reproduisant mes premières appréciations relatives à ce remarquable monument. Je dois les rectifier et les expliquer ici au besoin puisque vous les avez signalées.

Je ne crois pas, cher Monsieur, ainsi que vous le dites, avoir perdu de vue le principal intérêt de l'inscription qui accompagne ce cylindre; je crois, au contraire, avoir été le premier à en signaler l'importance, et peut-être à appeler l'attention des investigateurs

sur une localité de le Mésopotamie-Inférieure qui doit renfermer des ruines importantes. Je produisais, en effet, un des plus beaux spécimens de l'art en Chaldée, et ce spécimen portait le nom d'un roi d'Agadé que je considérais comme *antérieur* aux souverains de cette cité dont les noms sont déjà parvenus jusqu'à nous. On sait, en effet, que Agadé est un faubourg de l'antique Sippar; or, nous connaissons les deux derniers rois d'Agadé:—l'un que nous nommons Sargon-l'Ancien, pour le distinguer d'un roi d'Assyrie dont le nom s'écrit de la même manière et qui n'est autre que Sargon, le destructeur de Samarie;—l'autre, son fils, que nous nommons Naram-Sin, et qui est le dernier roi indépendant de Sippar. Le règne de Sargon-l'Ancien paraît remonter à une époque antérieure au trentième siècle avant notre ère, et vous le fixez vous même vers l'an 3,800 avant J.C. Mon erreur viendrait, selon vous, de ce que je n'aurais pas reconnu dans le nom du souverain qui figure sur notre cylindre celui de Sargon-l'Ancien.—Le nom de Sargon-l'Ancien s'écrit habituellement *Sar-gi-na;* j'ai lu le nom gravé sur le cylindre *Sé-ga-ni-sar-luḥ*, de là mon erreur; j'aurais dû lire ce nom *Sar-ga-ni*, et m'arrêter, la terminaison *Sar-luḥ* étant, selon vous, un qualificatif du nom royal; enfin, j'aurais dû voir que *Sar-ga-ni* est une forme de *Sar-gi-na*, et dès lors qu'il y a identité de noms.

Permettez-moi, avant tout, de vous demander si vous êtes bien sûr de l'exactitude des éléments sur lesquels vous appuyez votre affirmation? Pour moi, je n'oserais même pas présenter comme une hypothèse ce que vous affirmez comme une réalité, et c'est précisément ce qui fait le point capital de ma lecture; car si le nom qui figure sur le cylindre n'est pas celui de Sargon-l'Ancien, j'arrive ainsi à constater *l'existence d'un monument antérieur* à ce souverain; il y a donc là un véritable intérêt à serrer de près notre discussion.

Posons maintenant en principe que le cylindre dont il s'agit vous est encore inconnu, et que vous n'avez pu l'apprécier que par les deux dessins que j'ai publiés:—le premier, dans ma communication à l'Académie;—le second, dans mes recherches sur la Glyptique. —Le premier dessin est la reproduction d'une photographie prise sur une mauvaise empreinte à la fumée; les caractères de l'inscription sont à peine visibles, surtout celui qui va bientôt nous occuper; aussi, je donnais alors au nom royal une lecture provisoire pour laquelle je faisais les plus scrupuleuse réserves. Si vous n'aviez eu que ce premier renseignement, vous n'auriez pu affirmer quoi que ce

soit de positif: vous auriez vu seulement par ma note que je signalais l'importance historique, paléographique et artistique de ce document quoique je n'eusse pas encore vu le cylindre, et que j'ignorasse même si je parviendrais à le retrouver un jour. Ce fut ultérieurement que M. de Clercq, en lisant le compte rendu de ma communication à l'Académie, voulut bien m'informer que le cylindre était dans sa Collection, et qu'il le mettait obligeamment à ma disposition.—Le second reseignement que vous avez pu consulter vous est encore fourni par moi, c'est un dessin gravé sur bois, et ce dessin est fait non pas d'après une mauvaise empreinte, mais d'après l'original; il est exact, et c'est sur ce dessin que vous pouvez baser votre critique. La photographie, en effet, ne vous donnait qu'une idée imparfaite de l'inscription, puisque les premiers signes sont altérés; il n'y a de bien visible que les crochets ⟨⟨⟨⟨ qu'on pouvait raisonablement prendre pour le signe *sé;* mais vous pouvez lire sur la gravure le signe ⟨⟨⟨[ (*sar*). Voilà comment vous avez été conduit, en comparant ma gravure avec l'inscription du monument du Musée Britannique, à corriger ma lecture *Se-ga-ni*, viciée par l'imperfection de l'empreinte que j'avais en main, et à lire avec le signe rectifié *Sar-ga-ni* sur les deux monuments. Or, ce signe ⟨⟨⟨[ (*sar*) a été dessiné sur ma gravure, comme tout le reste du monument, par une main docile et à mes ordres; qui l'aurait dicté si ce n'est moi après l'avoir vérifié sur le monument? C'est donc l'exactitude scrupuleuse de ma gravure qui vous a permis de rapprocher l'inscription du cylindre de celle du monument du Musée Britannique. Les signes sont identiques, on doit par consequent lire *Sar-ga-ni;* mais je suis obligé de déclarer que c'est volontairement que j'ai maintenu dans mes *Recherches* ma lecture *Sé-ga-ni*, guidé par un scruple que la science ne doit pas exclure et que quelques personnes comprendront ici. J'aurais dû ajouter, peut-être plus explicitement, que je me réservais de la corriger lors de la publication du Catalogue de M. de Clercq? je ne l'ai point fait, et je suis amené par votre critique à rectifier dès à présent ma lecture. Je lirai donc avec vous la première ligne de notre inscription *Sar-ga-ni* et non pas *Sé-ga-ni;* mais c'est tout ce que j'ai à rectifier.

Je me demande, en effet, si le reste de votre critique est fondé? Je ne le crois pas. Vous tronquez le nom qui figure dans ces deux inscriptions; ce n'est pas seulement *Sar-ga-ni* qu'il faut lire, mais bien *Sar-ga-ni-sar-luḫ*, en un seul mot. Il n'y a pas de séparation entre

les deux premières lignes, c'est sans doute par une erreur involontaire que vous avez fait figurer cette séparation dans la transcription du nom du cylindre que vous donnez, car elle n'existe ni sur ma photographie ni sur ma gravure; vous ne l'indiquez pas du reste sur la pierre du Musée Britannique. Cette absence de séparation prouve que la ligne est doublée; la seconde ligne fait partie du mot de la première. C'est ainsi que vous pouvez lire le nom de *Sippar* sur la pierre du Musée Britannique où il occupe la 7e et la 8e ligne sans séparation, et le nom du scribe *Ib-ni-sar* à la 5e et 6e ligne de notre inscription.

*Sar-ga-ni-sar-luḥ* est un nom Chaldéen formé comme tous les noms Chaldéens de plusieurs éléments qui ne doivent pas être séparés; c'est une remarque que j'ai faite il y a déjà plus de vingt ans, et qui est élémentaire pour tous les savants de la vieille école, je n'ai pas besoin d'insister. J'ajouterai cependant que cette observation suffirait peut-être pour écarter toute comparison entre le nom de *Sar-ga-ni-sar-luḥ* et celui de *Sar-gi-na;* je pourrais donc m'arrêter ici; poursuivons toute fois l'analyse des éléments de votre critique. Ce mot *Sar-ga-ni* que nous sommes d'accord pour lire ainsi maintenant, en donnant à chaque signe la valeur absolue des caractères, peut il être identifié avec le mot *Sar-gi-na* qui s'écrit aussi *Sar-kin* (*Sar-du*), et qui représente le nom des deux Sargons? Cela ne me paraît pas possible. Le nom de notre cylindre que nous n'avons encore rencontré que deux fois, il est vrai, est toujours écrit par le signe 𒁹𒁹𒁹𒁹𒁹 seul ou précédé du signe divin; tandis que el nom de Sargon, si fréquent dans les textes, est toujours écrit par le signe 𒁹𒁹𒁹 ou ses variantes comme vous le reconnaissez, et n'est jamais précédé du signe divin. Ensuite, comment voulez-vous établir l'identité de la partie *ga-ni* avec l'allophone *gi-na?* Sur quoi vous appuyez-vous pour déclarer que *ga-ni* est évidemment (*is evidently!*) la forme primitive de la racine Akkadienne qui apparait plus tard sous celle de *gi-na?* Si nos deux noms s'appliquent au même roi les monuments nous en auraient conservé la trace? Elle a disparu sous la main des scribes de Ninive; mais ce n'est pas tout, elle aurait déjà disparu en Chaldée du temps de Marduk-idin-akhi. D'un autre coté vous soulevez-là une grave question de philologie, et vous l'appuyez sur une affirmation que nos connaissances très contestables et très contestées de la langue Akkadienne (ou Sumérienne) ne permettent pas d'accepter aussi facilement que vous pourriez le croire.

En l'absence de preuves sérieuses je me trouve fondé à considérer le mot *Sar-ga-ni* comme différent du mot *Sar-gi-na.*

Poursuivons encore notre analyse. Ce mot *Sar-ga-ni* est lui même un complexe, dont nous retrouvons l'élément *ga-ni* dans d'autres noms, par exemple dans un nom qui figure dans l'inscription d'un cylindre du Musée de New-York auquel vous faites allusion. Je lis ce nom *Bin-ga-ni-sar-luḥ*, et non pas seulement *Bin-ga-ni*, comme vous le faites, car j'ai également publié ce cylindre depuis long-temps dans la *Gazette des Beaux Arts* (1er Décembre, 1879), et je l'ai reproduit dans mes Recherches sur la Glyptique; puis que vous en parlez, vous pouvez remarquer qu'il renferme une inscription dont l'importance est non moins considérable; elle vient précisément éclairer un point de notre discussion. Les signes sont du type archaïque, et exactement de la même facture que ceux du cylindre des la Collection de Clercq; on les dirait tracés de la même main; l'intaille d'un travail très remarquable me paraît de *la même Ecole;* aussi vous avez compris comme moi qu'on pourrait rapprocher ces deux monuments et vous ajoutez que les noms sont peut-être de *la même dynastie?*—J'accepte volontier cette remarque; je crois, en effet, que ces noms sont formés de la même manière ainsi que je le fais observer dans mes Recherches, mais alors il faut en conserver la parité et ne pas les tronquer. Ce n'est pas seulement *Bin-ga-ni* qu'il faut lire sur le cylindre de New-York, il n'y a pas de séparation entre les deux premières lignes, mais *Bin-ga-ni-sar-luḥ*, comme nous devons lire le nom de *Sar-ga-ni-sar-luḥ* sur nos monuments.

Vous voyez donc bien, cher Monsieur, que rien me vient justifier votre lecture ni les conséquences que vous vouliez en tirer. Il m'eut été agréable de trouver dans la Collection de M. de Clercq le cachet d'un roi aussi connu que Sargon-l'Ancien; pour être exact je dois lire son nom *Sar-ga-ni-sar-luḥ;* c'est un nom plus obscur aujourd'hui sans doute, mais que des découvertes peuvent rendre d'un moment à l'autre aussi célèbre. On sait déjà, du reste, que ce ne serait pas le seul cylindre de cette précieuse collection qui aurait eu cette heureuse destinée.

Croyez, moi, cher Monsieur,

Votre bien dévoué,

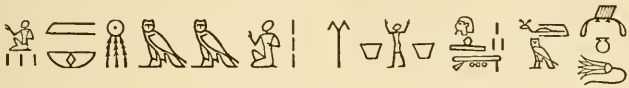
J. Menant.

Rouen, 10 Décembre, 1883.

The following Communications have been received from Mr. Renouf :—

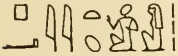
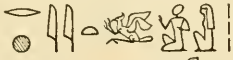
## THE EGYPTIAN PREPOSITIONS AND

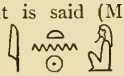
There is a text in Mariette's *Dendérah* (tome iv, pl. 77) which I would gladly have quoted in the note inserted in our *Proceedings* of 1881, on the phonetic value of the Egyptian preposition , had I not been suspicious of its accuracy. But I have now a voucher for that portion of it which specially concerns this preposition. In Brugsch's "own copy" of the text, as just published in his *Thesaurus Inscriptionum* (Abth. 2, p. 325), we read :—



that is: "men are keeping holiday, unborn generations * are in exultation, all upon earth come forth in blissfulness."

Here the expression "all upon earth," commonly written , is written *ḥotepiu ta*, the sign being added as a double orthography of the sound *ḥotep*. This phonetic value of the preposition is now so fully demonstrated, as to render such a transcription as *tep* absolutely inexcusable.

* Brugsch translates, "die Erleuchteten (*sc.* Männer höher Bildung)." This interpretation is, I suppose, founded on the sign , which however is here purely syllabic. My own researches have led me to the conclusion that human existences were divided by the Egyptians into the  *pāit*, 'past';  *rexit*, 'present'; and *hammemet* (also written *hammemu*). 'future' generations; all were conceived as actually in being; what we should call the soul (the *ego*) being not only immortal but eternal, without beginning and without end. *See* "Records of the Past," Vol. XII, p. 133, *note*.

These *Hammemet* (unborn), according to some Ritual texts, corresponding to the *Todtenbuch*, c. 124, are spoken of as attached to the Sun-disk. The Aachu open their arms to the departed, and the Hammemet address him. In another chapter it is said (Miss Brocklehurst's Papyrus and that of Nebket), "the sun-disk  speaks to him and so do his Hammemet."

In my former note I showed that in the expression is a distinct word *ā*, signifying 'hand,' governed by the preposition , and sometimes separated from it by the sign of the plural attached to the preposition. The following is an instance from the tomb of Chonsuhotepu at Thebes, in a drawing of the Hay collection :—

*à nutàru ḥotepiu ā Uasàri*, "O ye gods who are in presence of Osiris."

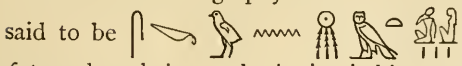
In a beautiful papyrus of the XVIIIth dynasty, belonging to Miss Brocklehurst, the deceased says : *seàptunef en hotepiu ā Rā*, "He is reckoned among those who are in presence of Rā."

In a monument at Florence (Berend, *Musée de Florence*, p. 57) we have as another variant of the plural *ḥotepiu ā;* the two latter signs, like the corresponding ones in the preceding example, being determinative, not of , but of the whole expression *ḥotepiu ā*.

There is another well-known preposition , which signifies 'behind,' and has hitherto been read as having the value *ḥa*, the sign being considered as simply ideographic.

This view is not consistent with the evidence of a remarkable tablet from Saqāra, now in the Museum at Boulaq, and reproduced in Mariette's *Monuments Divers*, pl. 61. In the inscription Osiris is addressed as king over the Amenti : "whom gods and men fear, who createth right and putteth away wrong." Here instead of we have . If this is not an error, , instead of being a simple preposition or adverb, is a compound expression *ḥa ḥotep*.

The same inference might be drawn from its orthography in the inscription of Amenhotep, son of Hapu (Mariette, *Karnak*, 36, 18),

were not that orthography doubtful on other grounds. The hero is said to be  "*a guide to men of the future*, there being no hesitation in his counsels, nor any *backwardness*, , in his action." The second is here evidently a mistake. But would probably not be incorrect.

## THE NEGATIVE PARTICLE .

In my note on "Wrong Values commonly assigned to Hieroglyphic Groups," published in our *Proceedings*, February 7th, 1882, I spoke of "certain signs" (*e.g.* the negative ), with reference to which the evidence is of a more complex character than usual, and may easily be misinterpreted. All competent scholars will, I am sure, agree with me in asserting that there are signs whose exact value in certain words is still open to doubt. The real names of Isis* and Osiris in the classic times of Egypt are as yet open questions. Dr. Wiedemann thinks the question as to the negative particle  may be finally settled, and, that being so important a one, it ought to be settled. I have the greatest respect for Dr. Wiedemann, but I cannot admit that his article "Die Aussprache der Negation ," published in the last number of the *Recueil des travaux rélatifs à la philologie et à l'archéologie Egyptiennes et Assyriennes*, adds to our information or brings the question nearer to a solution.

* The difficulty arises from the fact that neither , the name of Isis, nor , hat of Osiris, is ever written phonetically in any text of the classical periods. There is indeed at Abydos (*see* Mariette's *Description des Fouilles*, II, pl. 16) the figure of a deity, occupying the place where Isis should be, with the name *àuset*. But the deity in question unfortunately is represented with a beard. This may be a mistake of the sculptor, for the *text* implies a female. If be the true phonetic value of the sign in these two divine names, it also agrees with the Phœnician transcription אוסירי of the name of Osiris.

There are, however, variants of the latter name which do not agree with it. There is the form in the royal tombs of Bibān-el-molūk, where  probably has the value *às*. A more common variant in the later periods is , where is *uas*. A still later form begins with the sign , which in very early times (long before the Ethiopic period, *Zeits.*, 1877, p. 105) had the value *ua*.

Every Egyptologist knows from an abundance of evidence that has for variants both (*en* or *an*) and = (*enen* or *nen*). It is as idle as it is easy to accumulate instances of either of these values. Both values are certain. It is taking the bull by the horns to say with Brugsch that when  is found *nen* must be read. Was not, forsooth, the Hebrew letter נ called *Nun?* [*When* was it so called?]

My own view is that the longer form is merely a reduplication of the shorter. And this is M. de Rougé's view in his *Chrestomathie*, § 369, "cette dernière [] est une forme rédoublée." Reduplication is one of the commonest phenomena of the Egyptian language, and the most frequent words undergo it without the least apparent change of meaning.  is quite as regular as , and if we want such a form as  we shall find it in a text of the best period, *Denkm.* III, 13.

Of the documentary evidence of a vocalic *anlaut* of  Dr. Wiedemann takes no notice. Yet it was sufficiently strong to convert scholars like Chabas and Goodwin. Goodwin found that where the Berlin Papyrus 2 has  "do not walk upon my clothes!" the corresponding passage in the Butler Papyrus (line 25) distinctly reads  *àn χentek.* "Ainsi," he writes in M. Chabas' *Mélanges*, II, p. 265 "se trouve définitivement levée l'incertitude qui a regné jusqu'à present sur le phonétique de  et de  qu'il faut décidément lire ⲁⲛ."

I consider it also important documentary evidence that the funereal scarabæi confound together , ,  and . The engravers did not understand the formulæ, but their mistakes arose from the phonetic equivalence of the particles.

But there is other evidence of which Dr. Wiedemann feels the cogency, and which he attempts to destroy. I appeal in my "Grammar" to the Coptic prefix ⲁⲧ, which is derived from  *ànti*, just as ⲉⲧ is derived from  *enti*. Already in the tomb of Seti I we find the variants  =  *àat*, the *n* being dropped by assimilation with the *t*. Dr. Wiedemann quietly says:

"Dies ist einmal nicht möglich;" this is absolutely impossible, because we have here to do with a transcription, not with a later form of the word; besides the tomb of Seti shows from the variant for that . We have therefore to do not with phonetic variants but with synonyms, and should read *ȧmt* instead of *ȧt* or *ȧat*. Dr. Wiedemann adds that M. de Rougé already pointed out *ȧm* as a variant of .

I must beg Dr. Wiedemann's pardon, but my theory here is not only possible but certainly true, and it has been confirmed by a very important document with which I was unacquainted when my "Grammar" was written. This is the Papyrus of Sutimes. Throughout the 149th Chapter of the Book of the Dead it transcribes by *att:* , , , and so forth. This excellent and venerable papyrus furnishes us with irrefragable proof that the later, that is the assimilated form of the privative particle, which has been preserved in Coptic, was already in use when the papyrus was written. These changes are often concealed in languages which use ideographic characters, but even in languages like Syriac and Arabic where the writing is purely alphabetic, the assimilated letter is written, though dropped in pronunciation. It has long since been noted that is habitually written without the . The form (*Todt.*, 149, 10) is hardly ever met with. In the papyri which habitually write for the usual form is naturally , the determinative alone pointing out the difference from the pronominal .

My attention having once been awakened by M. Lefébure's note to the Sutimes Papyrus, I felt sure that other papyri of equal or still greater authority would furnish evidence of the same kind. And such is the case. I was surprised to find in my own interleaved copy of the *Todtenbuch* notes *of mine*, written years ago, containing the variant as found in some of the British Museum papyri of the best age. Some of the cases I had no doubt passed over as "different readings," but I had no such excuse with regard to the

Libri Papyrus (B.M. 9933), which invariably identifies with . M. Naville will probably be able to tell us of other evidence from the museums of the Continent. Meanwhile let me offer our readers the following *specimens*:—

(*a*.) *Todt.* 79, 1,

*Pap. Sutimes* (The same variant at line 6.)

(*b*.) *Todt.*, 149, 10.

*Pap. Nebseni* .....

*Pap. Sutimes* .....

*Pap. Libri* .....

(*c*). (In the older recension of chapter 125, 4, occurs instead of the later )

*Pap. Nebseni* (and many others)—

*Pap. Nebket*—

*Pap. Sall.*, 127 (B.M. 9943)—

*Pap. Salt*, 828 (B.M. 10009)—

The phonetic history of *att*, ⲁⲧ, is strikingly similar to that of the Semitic pronoun of the second person. The Hebrew אתה, אתי,

'thou,' the Assyrian , , *atta*, , *atti*, are assimilated forms from which the letter *n*, which has been preserved in Arabic and Æthiopic, has disappeared. In the Syriac , , the letter is written, but not pronounced. The common Chaldee has the two forms אנת, *ant*, and את, *at*.

The peculiarity of the Egyptian word is that the suppression of the assimilated *n* strengthened the initial vowel which was omitted in the simple form (as it always is in , , and ), and brought it to light as in the Papyrus of Sutimes, and as in the text of Bibān-el-molūk.

It may seem superfluous after the peremptory evidence which proves the vocalic anlaut of to justify my reading of . But it is by no means superfluous to correct the errors on which the opposition to this reading is founded.

That appears as a variant of (*m* or *mā*) is nothing new to us. I quoted an instance more than ten years ago in my paper on the Egyptian prepositions (*Transactions*, Vol. II, p. 304, note). But this is not inconsistent with the fact that throughout the inscriptions of the royal tombs is used interchangeably with the signs and ideographic of *ȧa*, both as simple determinative in the groups or (Champollion, *Notices*, II, p. 506), or as an ideogram used phonetically, = (*ib.*, pp. 583 and 584). This is a fact staring every one in the face who carefully turns over the pages of Champollion's *Notices*. And very shortly after I had called the notice of Egyptologists to this fact in the article to which Dr. Wiedemann refers, Brugsch put forward exactly the same view on perfectly independent grounds.

It is Dr. Wiedemann's reading *amt* which is "absolutely impossible." I do not know where M. de Rougé "die Variante *ȧm* für hervorhob." I am quite sure that it is impossible for any one to produce such a variant from any text which has yet been published. *ȧm*, like the simple , is always a prohibitive, not a privative or a negative particle, and it is a gross error to understand it otherwise. This error does indeed occur, through an oversight, in M. de Rougé's *Chrestomathie*, § 398, where the prepositional or adverbial precedes a word, , with which it has no connection, any more than in *Todt.*, 51, 2; 64, 15, and many other

places. I pointed this out already in the *Zeitschrift*, 1877, p. 91, note. And I will add that the preceding paragraph of the *Chrestomathie* (No. 397), is equally misleading, in consequence of the reliance placed upon the corrupt Turin text of the 78th chapter of the Book of the Dead. We must remember that this portion of the *Chrestomathie* was not published by its illustrious author, who might very probably, had he been spared to do so, have taken the pains of verifying the accuracy of his texts by a collation of MSS. of those chapters quoted by him. In saying this let me not be understood for a moment as blaming M. Jacques de Rougé for publishing the paragraph exactly as he found it.

With reference to the number and importance of the instances in which and appear as variants of , Dr. Wiedemann appears to me to have a very inadequate view both of the facts and of their interpretations. When he speaks of as a comparatively rare variant he can only be speaking from his own knowledge. My own experience is entirely at variance with his; and so is my way of looking at the facts.

1. I say that  is a very early variant, and that is *never* found in early times. is found as early as the Pyramid of Unas. Where the magic text of the British Museum, published in Sharpe, *Inscriptions*, I, 9, reads ..... , the Unas text reads ..... .

There are other instances in the same texts, but I confine myself to these which cannot be disputed.

The name of the blind Horus, according to *Todt.*, 17, 44, is written with instead of in the *Aelteste Texte*, pl. 3, line 35; pl. 5, line 4; pl. 11, line 4. This is a frequent variant.

The name of , *en-aref*, "the city of Unconstraint," is written in *Aelteste Texte*, pl. 17, line 27.

is never found in early times. is only one of the very common blunders of inversion which I spoke about in *Zeitschrift*,

1877, p. 101, and proves nothing in favour of *nen*. If is simply *em*, why should not be simply *en?*

The "sehr deutliche Varianten" which Brugsch quotes against my view in his *Dictionary*, VII, 680, are all taken from the latest period of Egyptian inscriptions, centuries after the language was dead. I never denied the existence of such variants in the later period; I could readily furnish him a hundred more. Where are they to be found in the hieroglyphic inscriptions of the "Pharaonic periods?" If not in the inscriptions, it will be said, they are found in the papyri, Very true; but only in *one* class of papyri, and this gives a clue to their origin.

2. I say that the double form is a somewhat artificial word. It is a word created by the scribes, like and , though with a far greater show of reason.

The truth is simply this. In linear hieroglyphics was transcribed by , or rather by the line ——. It was so transcribed even when purely ideographic and *non-phonetic*, as in the particle and the determinative of *Sechem*. But as the particle often appears in the same document under the two forms and , the copyist added a second —— when the second form presented itself. Hence the admission into the same funereal papyrus of the forms —— and ═. I do not think the latter will be found in any papyrus which is not in linear hieroglyphics, or the copy of such a document. The scribes of the later periods of hieroglyphic writing changed ═ into and this into .

There is an old Egyptian word which is found in the three forms , , and , the first being the simple, and the last the reduplicated form. I do not pretend to say that the simplest is the earliest. But I am quite certain that in each form the *anlaut* was vocalic, not consonantal. I have always read the pronoun *enen*, not *nen*. like all ideographic signs is syllabic, not alphabetic.

P. LE PAGE RENOUF.

The following communication has been received from Mr. Theo. G. Pinches on the Sale of a slave marked on the left hand with the name of his mistress:—

1. 𒁹 Šum-iddina, mâri-šu ša 𒁹 Šulâ, mâr 𒀭 sangu 𒀭 Gula
*Šum-iddina, son of Šulâ, son of the priest of Gula,*

2. ina migir libbi-šu 𒁹 Itti-Bêl-gûzu
*in the joy of his heart, Itti-Bêl-gûzu*

3. 𒀭 galla-šu ša šitti šumēli-šu ana šumi ša 𒀭 Meškitum
*his servant, whose left wrist to the name of Meškitu*

4. âššati-šu, šaṭratum ana êšten šuššanu mana
*his wife, is inscribed, for one (and) two-thirds of a mana*
kaspi ša ina êštin šiḳli bitḳa
*of silver by the one shekel piece*

5. nuḫḫutu, ana šîmi gamrutu ana
*coined, for the complete price to*

6. 𒁹 Iddina-Nabû mâri-šu ša 𒁹 Nabû-êpiš-zirî mâr 𒀭 nappaḫu
*Iddina-Nabû, son of Nabû-êpiš-sirî, son of the blacksmith*

7. iddinu. Ûmû ša paḳari ina muḫḫi amēlutu šuatim
*he has given. The day when a claim upon this slave*

8. ittabšû, 𒁹 Šum-iddina amēlutam umarraḳamma
*be made, Šum-iddina the slave shall forfeit and*

9. ana 𒁹 Iddina-Nabû inaddin. Kaspam, êštin šuššanu mana
*to Iddina-Nabû shall give. The silver, one and two-thirds of a mana*

10. ša ina êštin šikli bitḳa nuḫḫutu šîmi 𒁹 Itti-Bêl-gûzu
*which is by the one shekel piece, coined, the price of Itti-Bêl-gûzu*

11. 𒀭 galli-šu, 𒁹 Šum-iddina ina ḳatâ 𒁹 Iddina-Nabû êdir.
*his servant, Šum-iddina by the hands of Iddina-Nabû has received.*

12. 𒀭 Mukînni: 𒁹 Bêl-iddin, mâru ša 𒁹 Nabû-rimanni, mâr
*Witnesses: Bêl-iddin, son of Nabû-rimanni, son*
𒁹 𒀭 Sin-naṣír;
*of Sin-naṣīr;*

13. 𒁹 Nabû-uṣur-napištum, mâru ša 𒁹 Nabû-šum-êšir, mâr
*Nabû-uṣur-napištu, son of Nabû-šum-êsir, son*
𒁹 Nabunnâa;
*of Nabunnâa;*

14. 𒁹 Nabû-sab-šunu, mâru ša 𒁹 Bêl-âḫî-irba, mâr 𒁹 Tunâ ;
*Nabû-sab-šunu, son of Bêl-âḫî-irba, son of Tunâ ;*

15. 𒁹 Kiribtu, mâru ša Liširu, mâr 𒁹 Bêlu- 𒀭 Ušum-gallu ;
*Kiribtu, son of Liširu, son of Bêlu-Ušumgallu :*

16. 𒁹 Ḳuddâa, mâru ša 𒁹 𒀭 Marduk-irba, mâr 𒁹 𒀭 Sin-
*Kuddâa, son of Marduk-irba, son of Sin-*
kudurri-uṣur ;
*kudurri-uṣur ;*

17. 𒁹 Irba- 𒀭 Marduk, mâru ša 𒁹 𒀭 Gula - zir - têpuš,
*Irba- Marduk, son of Gula-zir-têpuš,*
mâr 𒈨 sangu 𒀭 Gula ;
*son of the priest of Gula ;*

18. 𒁹 Nabû-âḫî-šu, mâru ša 𒁹 Nabû-kišir, mâr 𒁹 Ilu-damur ;
*Nabû-âḫî-šu, son of Nabû-kisir, son of Ilu-damur ;*

19. 𒁹 Âḫê-iddin, mâru ša 𒁹 Bêli-šunu, mâr Êgibi ;
*Âḫê-iddin, son of Bêli-šunu, son of Êgibi ;*

20. 𒁹 Bêl-iddina mâru ša 𒁹 Šum-ukîn, mâr 𒁹 Bêl-êderu ;
*Bêl-iddina son of Šum-ukîn, son of Bêl-êderu ;*

21. 𒁹 𒀭 Nergal-baliṭ, mâru ša 𒁹 Ârad- 𒀭 Gula, mâr 𒁹 Irani ;
*Nergal-baliṭ, son of Ârad- Gula, son of Irani ;*

22. 𒁹 Nabû-bulliṭ-su, mâru sa 𒁹 Basîa, mâr 𒁹 Sîatum ;
*Nabû-bullitsu, son of Basîa, son of Sîatu ;*

23. 𒁹 Bêl-iddin, mâru ša 𒁹 Nabû-ušêtiḳ-urri, mâr 𒈨 Kaldu.
*Bêl-iddin, son of Nabû-ušîtiḳ-urri, son of the Chaldean.*
Ina âšabi
*In the sitting*

24. ša 𒊩 Meškitum, mârtu ša 𒁹 Bêl-lûmur, mâr 𒁹 𒀭 Rammānu-šêa,
*of Meškitu, daughter of Bêl-lûmur, son of Rammānu-šêa,*

25. âššat 𒁹 Šum-iddina, nadin amēlut. 𒁹 Bêl-ittanna, dupšarru,
*wife of Šum-iddina, the seller of the slave. Bêl-ittanna, the scribe,*

26. mâru ša 𒁹 Bazuzu. Tintir-ki, âraḫ Âdari, ûmû XVI-KAM,
*son of Buzuzu. Babylon, month Adar, day 16th,*
šattu XX-KAM,
*year 20th,*

27. 𒁹 Dari'amuš šar Tintir-ki, šar matāti.
*Darius, king of Babylon, king of countries.*

FREE RENDERING

"Šum-iddina, son of Šulâ, son of the priest of Gula, has cheerfully sold Itti-Bêl-gûzu, his servant, whose left wrist is inscribed with the name of Meškitu, his wife, for one mana and two-thirds of silver, by the one shekel piece, coined, for the price complete, to Iddina-Nabû, son of Nabû-êpiš-zirî, son of the blacksmith.

"If a claim be made upon this slave, Šum-iddina shall forfeit the slave, and shall give (him) to Iddina-Nabû.

"Šum-iddina has received from the hands of Iddina-Nabû the money, one mana and two-thirds, by the one shekel piece, coined, the price of Itti-Bêl-gûzu, his servant."

Here follow the names of twelve witnesses, and then the words:

"At the sitting of Meškitu, daughter of Bêl-lûmur, son of Rammānu-šêa, wife of Šum-iddina, the seller of the slave. Scribe: Bêl-ittanna, son of Bazuzu. Babylon, 16th day of Adar, 20th year of Darius, king of Babylon, king of countries."

The importance of this document in explaining the nature of that which I published in the *Proceedings* of April last, will not be overlooked. That the characters (*D.P. šitti êmitti*) mean, as I conjectured, "right wrist," and, by extension, the back of the right hand, is now quite clear, from the parallel passage of the above text, which, leaving out the determinative prefix , gives the word with its phonetic complement and the character for "left" (, in Assyrian characters , *šitti šumēli*, "wrist of the left"), and proves its identity with the word in the passage quoted from Assurbanîpali's Annals (*Proceedings* for April, 1883, p. 106; W.A.I. V, pl. 3, l. 93).

From this text we see also that the puzzling characters are to be read *umarḳaunimma*, and that this word is formed of the Fut. Pu'ul of the root *marāḳu* with the ending of the plural, the particle *-ni*, and the mimmation and lengthening. The meaning of the root מרק in Babylonian is evidently "to forfeit."

The untranscribed characters on page 104 of the *Proceedings* for April last, l. 4, and page 106, are therefore to be transcribed *D.P. šitti*. On page 104, l. 14, a hyphen is to be inserted between *mar* and *ḳa*, and the translation is to be "shall forfeit (her) and give (her) to Urmanū." On page 105, l. 21, instead of Nabû-ludda, transcribe and read Nabû-mušêtiḳ-urri.

A most interesting point in this document may also be noted. It will be noticed that the price paid for the slave is: [illegible], *êšten šuššanu ma-na kaspi ša ina êštin šiḳli bitḳa nu-uḫ-ḫu-tu*, "one (and) two-thirds of a mana of silver, by the one shekel piece, coined" (l. 4–5, 9–10). Now the word *nuḫḫutu* seems not to occur before the time of Darius Hystaspis, but after his accession to the throne it is very frequent, and we get such phrases as: [illegible], *šanê mana êšrit šiḳli kaspi piṣû nuḫḫutu ša ina êštin šiḳli bitḳa*, "2 mana 10 shekels of white silver, coined, which is by the one shekel piece." It will here be noticed that the word is not placed in the same position in the sentence as in the text now under consideration. In the former phrase it comes after [illegible], "piece," but in the latter, after [illegible], "*kaspu piṣû*, "white silver," showing that it might relate directly either to the silver or to the piece.

Another tablet lately come to the British Museum, dated in the tenth year of Darius, referring to certain payments of silver, expresses the same as follows: [illegible], *irbît ma-na kaspi piṣ-u ša ina êšten šiḳli bit-ḳa nu-uḫ-ḫu-tu ša ḫa-al iṣ-ṣur, û êšten bar ma-na šanê šiḳli kaspi ša ina êšten šiḳli bit-ḳa ša gin-nu ša ḫa-al iṣ-ṣur*, "4 mana of white silver, which is by the one shekel piece, struck with the figure of a bird, and $1\frac{1}{2}$ mana 2 shekels of silver, which is by the one shekel piece, which is punched (?) with the figure of a bird." The first-named coin is evidently one similar to the tetradrachma of Athens, which had a very wide circulation. It bears on the obverse a head of Pallas, and on the reverse the figure of an owl. Some of these coins were recently found by Mr. Rassam at Babylon.

I have, above, taken it for granted that the word *nuḫḫutu* signifies "struck" or "coined," and translated it in the above passages accordingly. The correctness of this rendering is upheld by the Heb. נָחַת, "to come down," Niph. "to sink in," "to pierce." *Nuḫḫutu* is the Pu'ul, almost equivalent in form and meaning to the Heb. Piel., "to press down." The words [illegible], *ša-gin-nu*, also spelled, [illegible], *ša-gi-in-nu*, probably mean "punched," and refer to coins struck with a similar device with a sunken outline

so common in the early days of coining. The expression "white silver" most likely means "real silver," the word "silver" alone, without any adjective, being probably used, at this time, for "electrum."

In the above contract, as also in all others of the same kind, it is very likely that the slaves were not really sold, but only lent on hire.

Further remarks upon some of the doubtful words which occur in this inscription, will be found in a future communication.

The following communication, in continuation of his remarks on the Hypocephali in the British Museum, has been received from Dr. Birch :—

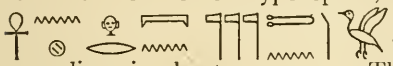
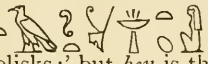
Another hypocephalus, with similar subjects and texts, No. 8445*a*.* In the upper division of the pupil is the two-headed god, wearing the horns and plumes, and with the jackal heads on the shoulders, standing holding the jackal standard. The hieroglyphs here read, "are known, thou art knowing them." At the right side is the boat with Osiris typified as the human-headed hawk, or the lord standing on a pylon with the name of Isis before him and Nephthys behind. In the compartment beneath is the boat of the Sun, with the scarabæus laid horizontally above the concentric quadrant in the middle, and Ra seated behind hawk-headed wearing the disk—before the scarab is *bat*. This is like the vignette of the 162nd chapter of the Ritual. On the upper compartment of the left side is, "thou hast been as the eight souls, thou hast lived." In the lower compartment is the mummied *akkar*, hawk of Socharis, in a boat (chapter 71). The central line has the mummied deities with four rams' heads, wearing the cap *atef* with two bodies before the hand, holding the combined sceptre life, 'strong established.' The god is 'adored' 'four times' *sep ftu*, by four standing cynocephali wearing lunar disks. On the right side is an oval with a horned snake, and on the left with another snake. These abodes or islands are probably some of those mentioned in the 149th chapter of the Ritual.

On the inverted portion of the pupil is the mystic cow of Athor, chapter 162 of the Ritual, having seated before it the four genii of the Amenti; behind this the goddess with the eye in a disk holding

* The number given in the text of the *Proceedings*, January, p. 52, should read 8445*c*.

a lotus and the serpent Nahab-ka, offering the right symbolic eye to a seated Pantheistic type of Amen Ra as Amsi, figures of part of the vignettes of the 162nd and following chapters of the Ritual. Above is a line of hieroglyphs: "The place behind the abode of the river, the place (*merh*) of the waters."

Round the margin which represents the tunica abbyinea of the eye, is the following: "Oh, box (of Tum) in the roofed house tall, tall spirit spirit, bull great god, living over the gods, creating his terrors, give thou life. Lives the soul of the Osiris, Tasherenkhons, truthful daughter of the lady of a house, Tarutenbast, truthful, truthful."*

After the expression great god, the mutilated portion appears to be on four other hypocephali, which will subsequently appear,  . This hypocephalus, like the preceding, is about B.C. 350. They are all connected with the supplementary chapters of the Ritual. The name of the mother of the deceased appears to be  . Some read *ben ben*, 'the house of obelisks;' but *ben* is the 'pyramidion' or 'cap of an obelisk.' The whole mystically refers to the god Tum at Heliopolis, and the *tebb* is the shrine or ark, probably that opened by Piankhi (*Records of the Past*, Vol. II, p. 98).

The following has been received in reply to M. Ménant from Mr. Theo. G. Pinches:—

I hasten to reply to the courteous criticism of M. Ménant, whose valuable remarks I have read with great interest. But first I must say that it was not my intention to criticise or find fault with him, for in such a case as this the difficulty (even when a text is clear) of arriving at a right conclusion is very great; and I, who have copied and translated a large number of texts, have often been myself misled, and know how needful it is to put things very cautiously, even when they seem to be quite certain. It may here be remarked that it seems not to be generally known on the continent that the word "evidently" expresses doubt.

Without entering into an examination of all the questions raised

* Brugsch (*Wörterbuch*, Part II, pp. 534–535) translates this word *maχeru*, formerly interpreted truth, or declared true, by conqueror or victor. See also Deveria, *Recueil des Travaux*, Vol. I, p. 10, &c.

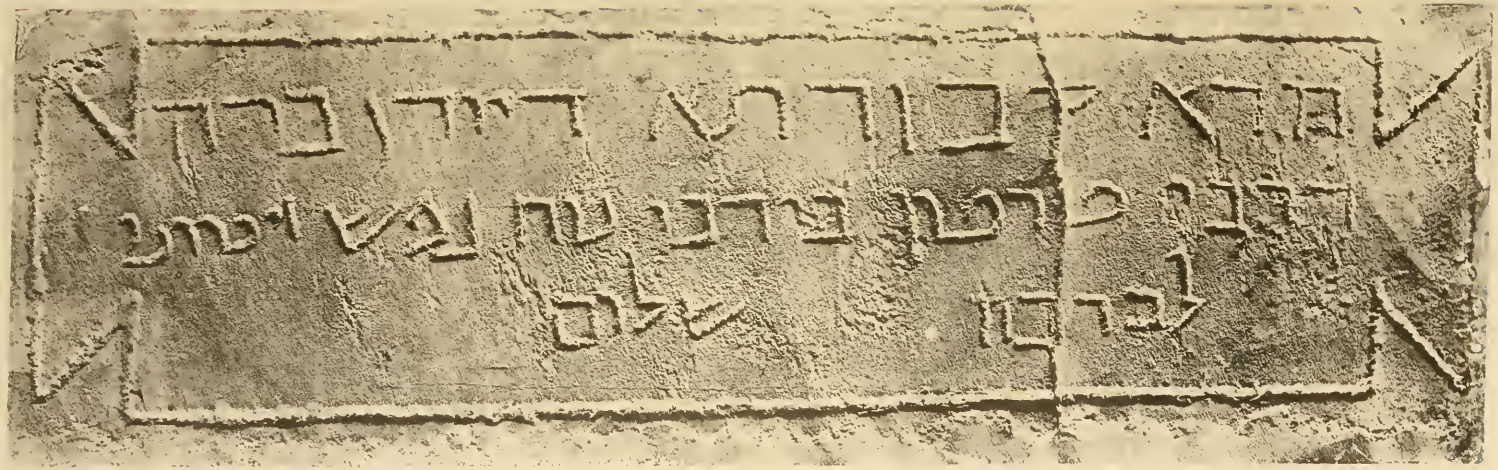
by M. Ménant, I will here merely give the reasons which induced me to state that Šargani is the same king as Šargina.

The principal arguments against Sargani being the same as Sargina are as follows:—

1. The spelling [illegible], *Šar-ga-ni*, instead of [illegible], *Šar-gi-na*.
2. The fact that (as Sir H. C. Rawlinson has pointed out to me) [illegible], *šar-ga-nu*, is translated by [illegible], *dan-nu*, "strong," in W.A.I., II, pl. 31, line 65.

In favour of Šargani being the same as Šargina:—

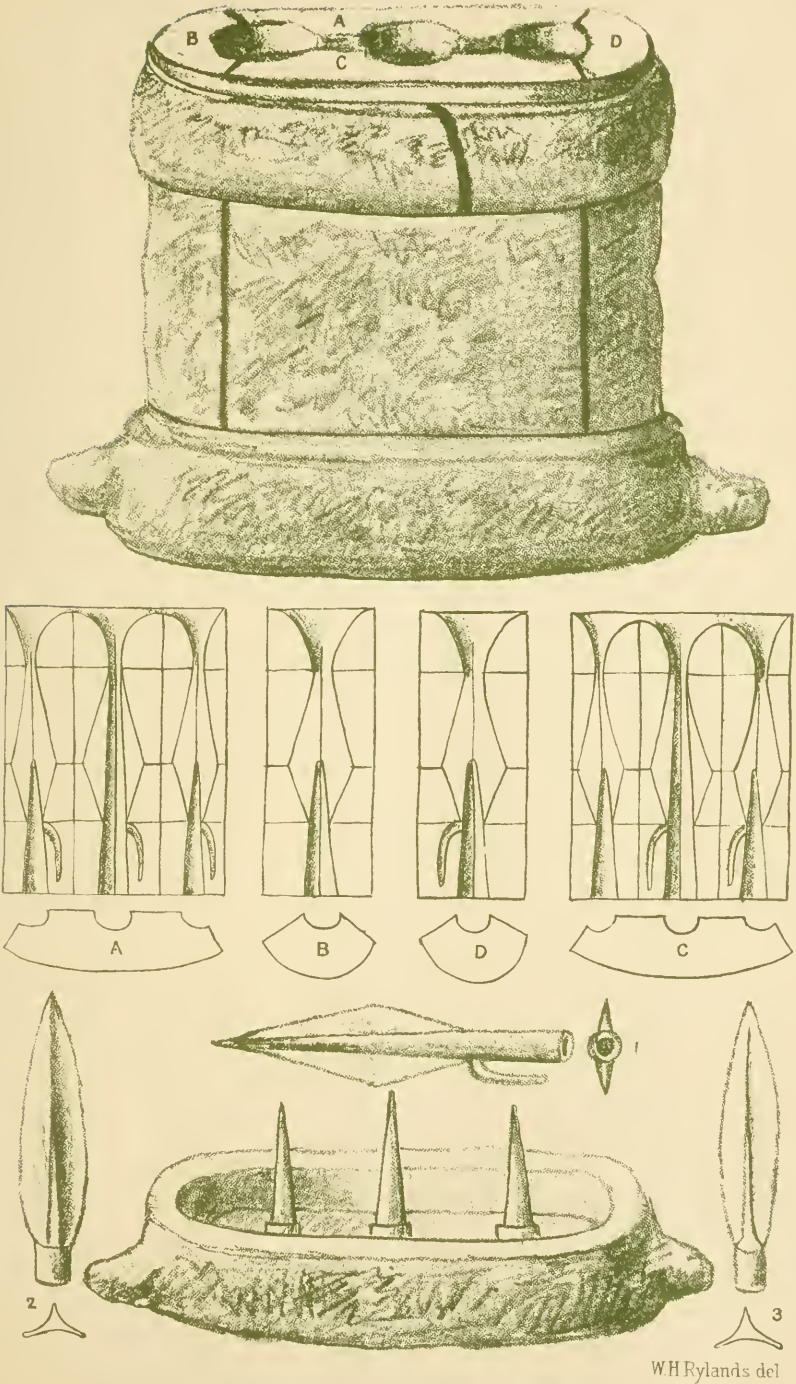
1. That Šargani, like Šargina, bears the distinctive title of king of Agadé.
2. That the style of the writing of the inscription of Naram-Sin, son of Šar-gina, was, judging from the copy published in W.A.I., I, pl. 3, No. 7, very nearly the same as that of the inscription of Šargani. The inscription also is in Babylonian, not Akkadian.
3. That Šargani may really be two words, and not connected with Šarganu = *dannu*. Compare the similarly formed [illegible], Bin-gani.
4. That even supposing Šargani and Šarganu to be one and the same word, the later rendering Šar-gina may be only a folk-etymology, arising either out of a wish to explain the word, or else a wish to refer every royal name to an Akkadian origin. In support of this supposition it is to be noted that [illegible], Šar-gina of Agadé takes, as his only epithet, that of *šarru dannu*, "the *strong* king," *par excellence* (see W.A.I., III, pl. 4, line 54).
5. That the Hebrew form of the name סַרְגֹּן, Sargōn, agrees much better with Šargani than with Šargina. Compare *lišānu*, "tongue," with the Hebrew לָשׁוֹן, &c., &c. The weakening of *a* into *i* is shown in the word [illegible], *giš-kin*, Assyrianized [illegible], *kiš-ka-nu-u* (W.A.I., II, pl. 45, l. 52; and IV, pl. 15, l. 52, 53). The Hebrew Sargōn, which cannot have come from Šar-gina, was evidently borrowed from Šargani at a very early date. All these questions will be fully considered when my paper is printed in the *Transactions*.



HEBREW EPITAPH OF YOUDAN SON OF RABBI TARPHON. FROM THE NECROPOLIS OF JOPPA.

Original Size:—0m.60 in length.

TERRA-COTTA SEALS IN THE POSSESSION OF M. SCHLUMBERGER PARIS, ETC.




W.H Rylands del

BRONZE MOULD FOUND NEAR MOSSUL
NOW IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM

HYPOCEPHALUS IN THE

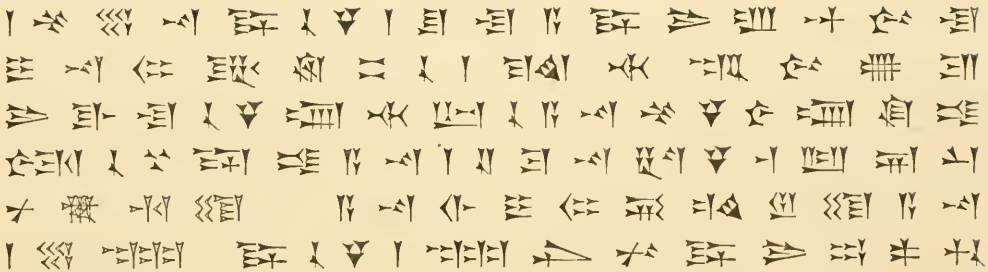
ISH MUSEUM Nº. 8445a

Vincent Brooks Day & Son Imp

TABLET DATED IN THE TWENTIETH YEAR OF DARIUS, REFERRING TO THE SALE OF A MALE SLAVE WHO IS MARKED ON THE LEFT HAND WITH THE NAME OF HIS MISTRESS.

*IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM.*

OBVERSE.




(Two faint Cylinder Seal-impressions, representing a Eunuch before an Altar, &c.)

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The following communication has been received :—

MY DEAR MR. RYLANDS, PARIS, *February*, 1884.

My last word. I entirely agree with Mr. Pinches; the personal opinion of anybody cannot modify the real situation: my assertion would not change wrong into right. Moreover, what is true for me, will be also applicable to Mr. Pinches.

I acknowledge with great pleasure that Mr. Pinches adopts the decipherment, and the translation I gave long ago (1863),* *Commentaires de la Grande Inscription de Sargon*, "who will *burn* my tablets," and that he does not translate, "who will refine my tablets."

I am equally happy to see Mr. Pinches adopting the views on the phonetic complement I gave forth in 1858, in my *Expedition de Mésopotamie*, &c., II, p. 97.

With great satisfaction I see also that Mr. Pinches adopts my views on the pronunciation of the Assyrian *u*, which I supposed in the year 1879, for several reasons, which Mr. Pinches silently adopts, to have sounded as French *u*.

As a philologist, I do by no means despise philology; and Mr. Pinches' words secure that he will ardently defend historical, archæological, and juridical studies.

JULIUS OPPERT.

The following communication has been received :—

DEAR MR. RYLANDS, *February 14th*, 1884.

Last December the British Museum acquired a very interesting bronze object. It proves to be a mould for arrow heads, and as it is a very perfect specimen, some particulars of it are given here. The mould is $2\frac{3}{4}$ inches in height, $1\frac{1}{4}$ inches in width; the moveable dies when fitted in their places are $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches across, and the base $3\frac{3}{4}$ inches. The mould consists of six pieces: an elliptical base, hollowed to the depth of $\frac{7}{8}$ of an inch, containing three tapering bronze points (which formed the core of the arrow), situated at

* Apparently the interpretation "to scorch them," *i.e.*, tablets, was proposed by Rawlinson, Hincks, Oppert, and Talbot, in their translation of the Inscription of Tiglath Pileser I, in the year 1857 (see *Records of the Past*, Vol. V, p. 5, &c.—W.H.R.

regular intervals of half-an-inch from each other, the middle one being 1 inch high, and the other two $\frac{7}{8}$ of an inch. At each end of this portion (outside) there is a projection, which would almost lead one to suppose that it was fixed in wood or stone. (See figure at the foot of the page containing the drawing of the mould.)

Four pieces of bronze, A, B, C, D,* being the moveable dies mentioned above, fit into the base accurately, and together with it form the actual mould for the arrow heads. The whose is held together by a moveable ring of bronze fitting closely over the top of the mould.

Three arrow heads could be cast in this mould at one time: two three-bladed, and one one-bladed. Fig. 1 is a drawing of the single-bladed arrow head, showing the barb cast on the shaft. The third and end casting from the mould is of the same form, with the exception that the arrow is three-edged, somewhat resembling a bayonet. Figs. 2 and 3 represent a somewhat similar three-bladed arrow head found at Babylon.

The inner surfaces of the dies are carefully smoothed, and the dividing lines, slightly engraved in order to ensure precision in cutting the mould, still remain.

It is difficult to say by whom this mould was made, and at what period. Some think it to be Scythian workmanship. Arrow heads very similar to those which this mould could produce have been found in different parts of the world. Mr. Franks has known some to come from China, and they have been found during the excavations in Babylon and elsewhere. Mr. Newton, in his "Travels and Discoveries in the Levant," Vol. I, p. 307, says that at Calymnos, having removed the paving of an ancient road, "I found such a number of bronze arrow heads as to lead me almost to suppose that a shower of arrows had fallen here. The points of some of them were blunted." In the Archæologia Aeliana, Vol. I, p. 201, there is an account of the discovery at the foot of Mount Caucasus of an enormous quantity of bronze arrow heads, and in the drawing accompanying this description a number of different forms of them are given.

Yours truly,

Ernest A. Budge.

* These are also shown in section underneath each division, slightly reduced in size.

Hebrew Inscription in the Necropolis at Joppa :—

The description of this monument, for which the Society is indebted to M. Clermont-Ganneau, unfortunately arrived too late for insertion in the present number of the *Proceedings*, but will be printed in the one for March.

Terra-cotta Seals in the collection of M. Schlumberger, of Paris :—

A plate of these seals, with descriptions by M. Georges Perrot, has already been published in the *Revue Archéologique*. He was kind enough to offer the use of the plate to the Society, but unfortunately, owing to the size, it was not available. It has been thought better to issue the annexed sketches at once, deferring a description and the photographic plate to a future part of the *Transactions*.

I must here offer my thanks to both MM. Schlumberger and Perrot, for placing the original seals at my disposal for publication.

W. H. RYLANDS.

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The next meeting of the Society will be held at 9, Conduit Street, Hanover Square, W., on Tuesday, March 4th, 1884, at 8 p.m., when the following Paper will be read :—

By Dr. S. LOUIS :—"Handicrafts and Artizans mentioned in Talmudical Writings."

## THE FOLLOWING BOOKS ARE REQUIRED FOR THE LIBRARY OF THE SOCIETY.

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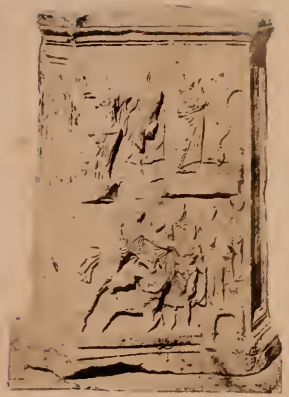
Botta, Monuments de Ninive. 5 vols., folio. 1847–1850.
Place, Ninive et l'Assyrie, 1866–1869. 3 vols., folio.
Brugsch-Bey, Grammaire Démotique. 1 vol., folio.
——————— Geographische Inschriften Altaegyptische Denkmaeler. Vols. I—III (Brugsch).
——————— Recueil de Monuments Égyptiens, copiés sur lieux et publiés par H. Brugsch et J. Dümichen. (4 vols., and the text by Dümichen of vols. 3 and 4.)
Dümichen, Historische Inschriften, &c., 1st series, 1867.
——————————————— 2nd series, 1869.
————— Altaegyptische Kalender-Inschriften, 1866.
——————————— Tempel-Inschriften, 1862. 2 vols., folio.
Golenischeff, Die Metternichstele. Folio, 1877.
Lepsius, Nubian Grammar, &c., 1880.
De Rougé, Études Égyptologiques. 13 vols., complete to 1880.
Wright, Arabic Grammar and Chrestomathy.
Schroeder, Die Phönizische Sprache.
Haupt, Die Sumerischen Familiengesetze.
Schrader, Die Keilinschriften und das Alte Testament. 1872.
Rawlinson, Canon, 6th and 7th Ancient Monarchies.
——————————— History of Egypt. 2 vols. 1882.
Osburn, The Antiquities of Egypt. 8vo., 1841.
Robinson, Biblical Researches. 8vo., 1841.
Pierret, Dictionnaire d'Archéologie Égyptienne. 8vo. Paris, 1875.
Burkhardt, Eastern Travels.
Wilkinson, Materia Hieroglyphica. Malta, 1824–30. (*Text only.*)
Chabas, Mélanges Égyptologiques. 1862–1873.
——— L'Égyptologie. Tomes I and II, 1874 and 1875.
Maspero, Du genre épistolaire chez les Égyptiens de l'époque Phraonique. 8vo. Paris, 1872.
———— De Carchemis oppidi Situ et Historia Antiquissimâ. 8vo. Paris, 1872.



C

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MARBLE ALTAR DISCOVERED AT THE FOOT OF MOUNT GERIZIM (NABLOUS.)

# *PROCEEDINGS*

OF

# THE SOCIETY

OF

# BIBLICAL ARCHÆOLOGY.

## FOURTEENTH SESSION, 1883-84.

*Fifth Meeting, 4th March,* 1884.

SAMUEL BIRCH, D.C.L., LL.D., &c., PRESIDENT,
IN THE CHAIR.

From the Royal Geographical Society :—Proceedings and Monthly Record of Geography. Vol. VI. No. 3. March. 8vo. London. 1884.

From the Royal Asiatic Society :—The Journal. Vol. XVI. Part 1. New Series. January, 1884. 8vo. London.

From the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland :—The Journal. Vol. XIII. No. 3. 8vo. London. February, 1884.

From the Royal Institute of British Architects :—The Proceedings. Session 1883-84. No. 8. 4to. London.

From the Author :—Das Ritualbuch des Ammondienstes. Ein beitrag zur geschichte der Kultusformen im alten Aegypten. Von Dr. Oscar von Lemm. 8vo. Leipzig. 1882.

From the Author:—Nebuchadnezzar, King of Babylon. On recently discovered Inscriptions of this King. By Ernest A. Budge, B.A.

Reprinted from the Journal of the Victoria Institute. 1884.

From Walter Morrison (*Vice-President*):—The Massorah, compiled from Manuscripts, Alphabetically and Lexically arranged. By Christian D. Ginsburg, LL.D. Vol. II. Folio. London. 1883.

From S. Birch, D.C.L., &c. (*President*):—Egypt after the War, being a narrative of a tour of inspection undertaken last autumn. By H. Villiers Stuart, M.P. 8vo. London. 1883.

From S. Birch, D.C.L., &c. (*President*):—The Pyramids and Temple of Gizeh. By W. M. Flinders Petrie. 4to. London. 1883.

From the Rev. W. Mead Jones:—The Sabbath Memorial. Septennial Volume. 1875–1881. Folio. London.

——— The History of the Sabbath and first day of the Week. By J. N. Andrews. Second edition, enlarged. 8vo. London. 1873.

——— The complete Testimony of the Fathers of the first three centuries concerning the Sabbath and first day. By J. N. Andrews. 8vo. London. 1873.

The following has been purchased by the Council for the Library of the Society:—

A History of Art in Chaldæa and Assyria. From the French of Georges Perrot and Charles Chipiez. Translated and edited by Walter Armstrong, B.A. 2 vols. 8vo. London. 1884.

The following were submitted for election, having been nominated on the 5th February, 1884:—

Rev. Gavin Carlyle, M.A., 5, Eaton Gardens, Ealing.
Arthur Davis, 30, Abbey Road, St. John's Wood, N.W.
E. Towry White, 31, Lansdowne Road, Clapham Road, S.W.
John Lang Currie, St. Kilda, Victoria.
Rev. Thomas Ladds, M.A., Leighton Vicarage, Kimbolton, St. Neots.

The following were nominated for election at the next meeting, on 1st April 1884:—

Rev. John Anthony Hassing, St. Anne's, Keighley, Yorks.
Sir Henry B. Meux, Bart., Dauntsey House, Chippenham, Wilts.
John Zeuch, Brühl 53, III, Leipzig.
Heinrich Zimmern, 13, Large Strasse, Leipzig.
Professor Thomas Joseph Lamy, Université de Louvain.

Mr. Theo. G. Pinches read the following letter from Mr. George Bertin:—

DEAR SIR,

I had not intended to raise this question touching the *Proceedings* of the Society, but I dare say I shall express the opinion of a great many members in saying that it would be advisable to prevent the *Proceedings* from becoming a medium for useless polemics, as now appears to be the tendency. I have avoided taking part in the various polemics, though I could have said many things and found many faults, but I wished, and still wish, to be quite neutral. However, to show the evil tendency it is sufficient to state the facts, and in so doing to avoid all personalities, I shall preserve the *incognito* of the fighters.

One member, A, publishes a note with the translation of an ancient document; another, B, at once writes a letter in which he criticises A and *re-translates the whole document.* This ought certainly not to be tolerated, as if all the students of the same subject, C, D, E, etc., sent their own translations of the same document and claimed to have them printed, the Society might have to publish forty or fifty translations of the same document. That is not all. A naturally enough wrote to defend his interpretation; then follow five or six polemical letters. But the most astonishing is the last letter of B, who declares that he agrees entirely with A. What then was all this noise about, and why did B *re-translate* the document of A? And B, in saying that he agrees with A, makes three statements, one of them at least being inaccurate, as is pointed out by another member, F.

The other instance is equally surprising:—G, in the course of a paper, criticizes the reading of H. H then writes a long letter, three pages of which is to state that if his mistake has been found out it is because his publication of the document is accurate; but I

declares that we may hope to have a better publication of this document. That is a rather good dose of cold water for H.

I know that the Committee that has the management of the publication of the *Proceedings* have a difficult task, also often an invidious one; but I think that these publications ought not to contain anything beside the reports of the meetings, and the announcements of new facts or discoveries, also perhaps short notes, but they ought certainly not to be a polemical arena.

MR. PINCHES having stated that the opinions expressed by Mr. Bertin coincided with his own, commented on the recent discussion between Dr. Oppert and M. Menant and himself printed in the *Proceedings*. He objected to letters having been inserted in the *Proceedings* after the proof of that particular Number had been presented to the meeting. He was of opinion that if every letter had been read he would have had an opportunity of making a reply; for if it could be shown at the meeting that a letter was not worth printing, then it ought not to appear in the publications of the Society.

The SECRETARY said that there seemed to be some mistake in the minds of Mr. Pinches and Mr. Bertin. The *Proceedings* did not represent the minutes of the various meetings alone—that formed only one part of them. They included, as was the original intention, any communications sent to the Society which were considered to be of interest to the members. It was hardly surprising in the present condition of knowledge of the Assyrian language, that opinions differed in the interpretation of many words; this was only to be expected; but it would be quite impossible for the Society to draw a hard and fast line, and say that because the translation of one Member did not agree with that of the publisher of a text, therefore their opinions were not to be printed in the *Proceedings*.

MR. D. MARSHALL suggested that the question opened by Messrs. Pinches and Bertin was one to be referred to the Council of the Society, and ought not to be discussed at the present time, when it only interfered with the papers to be read, and took up the time of the members, who had come there for another purpose.

This having been referred by the President to the meeting, it was decided that if Messrs. Pinches and Bertin considered they had any cause of complaint, a letter should be addressed to the Council embodying their supposed grievances.

A Paper was read by Dr. S. Louis, "On the Handicrafts and Artizans mentioned in Talmudical Writings:"—

This paper was intended to throw light upon the social and industrial habits of the Jews about two thousand years ago. As far as their degree of civilization and the state of their industries were concerned, the Jews who worshipped in the temple at Jerusalem are as much an extinct race as the Greeks and Romans, and the picture of their daily pursuits must be constructed from the relics of bygone ages.

The Jews having left but scanty records of their history in stone or marble, their literature must be referred to for information respecting their industries; and the reader of Talmudical writings occasionally finds a word or an expression which becomes a source of great antiquarian interest. This was illustrated by reference to the words תרונתק, a leather case for surgical instruments (Kelim xvi, 8), and תנורי בנות, toy ovens (Niddah 26 *b*).

The author quoted several passages from the Talmud, showing in what estimation handicrafts were held by the learned, and enforcing the duty of having sons instructed in some mechanical art. Though a man was not considered to be dishonoured by the nature of his calling, yet some trades were regarded more favourably than others. Among those which were less approved of were the occupation of the butcher and that of the tanner.

The practice was referred to of certain trades being carried on in special localities. In Jerusalem there was a street of the bakers, a potter's gate, and a fuller's field; in Alexandria there were separate quarters for the goldsmiths, the silversmiths, the ironworkers, the coppersmiths, and the weavers (Succah 51 *b*).

Some bond of union, something approaching to our guilds, seems to have existed in very early times. In the nineteenth chapter of the Acts, Demetrius, a silversmith, is related to have addressed the men of his craft on a matter touching the interests of their trade. In Jerusalem there was a locality called "the synagogue of the coppersmiths" (Megillah 26 *a*), where these artizans assembled, probably for purposes connected with their craft.

The custom was mentioned of artizans wearing characteristic badges indicative of their trade, and those worn by tailors, scribes, carpenters, wool-carders, dyers, and money-changers were indicated.

Handicrafts frequently became hereditary in families. In the Talmud (Joma 38 *a*) two families are mentioned, one who possessed the secret of baking the shewbread for the temple, and another who were specially skilled in the preparation of the holy incense.

Competition among workmen was not discouraged, and even an instance of trade combination is to be met with.

Some details were then entered into respecting the following handicrafts :—

I. *Bakers.*—The Talmudical expressions for bakers and bread were given, and the construction of baking ovens described. The bakers were not usually the bread-sellers, a custom which also seems to have prevailed in Greece, as may be inferred from a passage in Aristophanes (Frogs, 858).

II. *Metal-workers.*—The author was of opinion that the operation of reducing iron from the ore was not carried on among the Jews, but that iron was imported from other countries in bars or round lumps. A peculiar law relating to smithies was mentioned, also an appliance used by blacksmiths, called "the smith's donkey."

III. *Fullers and Dyers.*—The chief substances used as detergents, as well as some vegetable dye-stuffs applied by Jewish dyers, were enumerated ; *red* and *blue* seem to have been the principal colours produced.

IV. *Perfumers and Hairdressers.*—Some ancient practices connected with these trades were referred to, as also the custom of women wearing false hair.

V. *Shoemakers.*—There are *two* words used in the Talmud for shoemaker, without any apparent difference in their signification. An eminent sage of the second century, R. Jochanan Hassandler, was by trade a sandal-maker.

VI. *Builders.*—A passage from Maimonides was cited, giving a description of the construction of mud walls.

VII. *Potters.*—Mention was made of a peculiar kind of manufacture, called in the Talmud כלי נתר, literally "natron vessels ;" they were made from soda mixed with sand, and were only used as drinking vessels. These vessels are also referred to by Pliny (Hist. Nat., xxxi, 10).

VIII. *Physicians.*—According to Talmudical phraseology, the physicians belonged to the artizan class. Some peculiar practices of

the healing art were mentioned, and reference was made to a celebrated surgeon of the third century, who appears to have practised his calling with an unusual amount of delicacy and humanity.

Rev. A. Löwy, Mr. Bouverie Pusey, Mr. Theo. G. Pinches, and Dr. Louis added remarks.

A Paper by Mr. Theo. G. Pinches and Mr. Ernest A. Budge, on An Edict of Nebuchadnezzar I, about B.C. 1150, was read by the Secretary. It will be printed in a future number of the *Proceedings*.

A Note by Miss Giovanna Gonino, on a Statuette of Osorkon I, was read by the Secretary, which will be published, with a plate, in a future number of the *Proceedings*.

The following Communication has been received from M. Philippe Berger:—

MONSIEUR,

Lors d'un récent voyage en Angleterre, où j'avais été chargé par la Commission du Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum d'aller confronter le fragment de tarif religieux qui a été récemment trouvé à Carthage par le R. P. Delattre, avec ceux que posséde le British Museum, notre honorable président, Dr. S. Birch, voulut bien me communiquer trois coupes avec inscriptions en caractères phéniciens encore inédites. Il y a un an déjà, M. Ary Renan avait eu l'occasion de voir ces graffiti, et il nous en avait rapporté des croquis à la plume, qui sont de l'exactitude la plus parfaite. Dès mon retour, j'en ai donné la traduction à la Société de Linguistique de Paris;* mais il m'a semblé que la publication de ces petits textes pourrait ne pas manquer d'intérêt pour la *Société d'Archéologie Biblique;* aussi je vous envoie la note que j'ai faite à leur sujet, en vous priant de vouloir bien l'insérer dans vos bulletins.

Les trois coupes qui font l'objet de cette note ont été trouvées à Nimroud, et sont depuis longtemps déjà au Musée Britannique. Elles sont en assez mauvais état. L'année dernière M. Pinches découvrit, sous le rebord artificiel de ciment dont on l'avait entourée pour la consolider, quelques caractères Sémitiques. M. Pinches, prévenu de cette trouvaille, reconnut, avec sa sagacité habituelle,

* *Bulletin de la Soc. de Ling. de Paris*, séance du 12 Mai, 1883.

un graffito phénicien. On poursuivit la même opération sur d'autres coupes, et ce travail a amené la découverte d'épigraphes analogues sur deux autres coupes.

Ces inscriptions sont gravées à la pointe en caractères très-fins sur le rebord extérieur. Les caractères sont archaïques, très-soigneusement formés, et rien, à première vue, n'indique si nous sommes en présence d'araméen ou de phénicien, ce qui est une marque d'antiquité. Ces résultats sont tout-à-fait d'accord avec les indications fournies par la provenance de ces monuments. Ils ont été trouvés tous trois dans les ruines du palais de Nimroud, et datent donc au plus tard du 7e siècle avant l'ère chrétienne. L'inscription se compose, sauf dans un cas, d'un seul nom propre; mais ces noms sont assez intéressants, et fournissent quelque chose de plus que la simple vue du monument. Je les prends dans l'ordre dans lequel je les ai examinés, en les faisant précéder des indications sommaires que M. Pinches a bien voulu me donner.

No. 1.

Nimroud. Sur une coupe du 7e siècle environ, couverte de dessins concentriques très-délicats; au centre, une rosace formée par des fers de lance et des fleurs de lotus qui alternent. La coupe est mal conservée. Sur le rebord extérieur:

ליבחראל

"*À Jibeharêl.*"

Il faut noter la forme du *iod*, qui incline vers l'araméen. Le nom יבחראל signifie "celui que El éprouve," ou "celui que El choisit;" les deux sens sont étroitement liés en hébreu.

La formation d'un nom propre au moyen de l'imparfait est d'un emploi rare, et mérite d'être signalée. On peut en voir pourtant un ou deux exemples dans le *Corpus Inscr. Semiticarum*, t. I, No. 11.

No. 2.

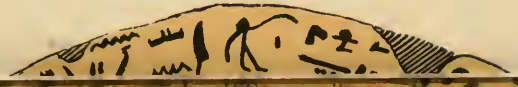
Sur une coupe très-mutilée, de même provenance et de même époque. Au centre, une rosace. Sur le rebord extérieur:

לאלהלח

"*À Elhillek.*"

Ce nom présente de grandes difficultés. La forme du ח est très remarquable. Il n'a que deux barres transversales, et il est fait comme un iod archaïque auquel on aurait donné une seconde hampe; néanmoins la lecture est certaine. Il n'en est pas de même du sens.

No. 8445 a.

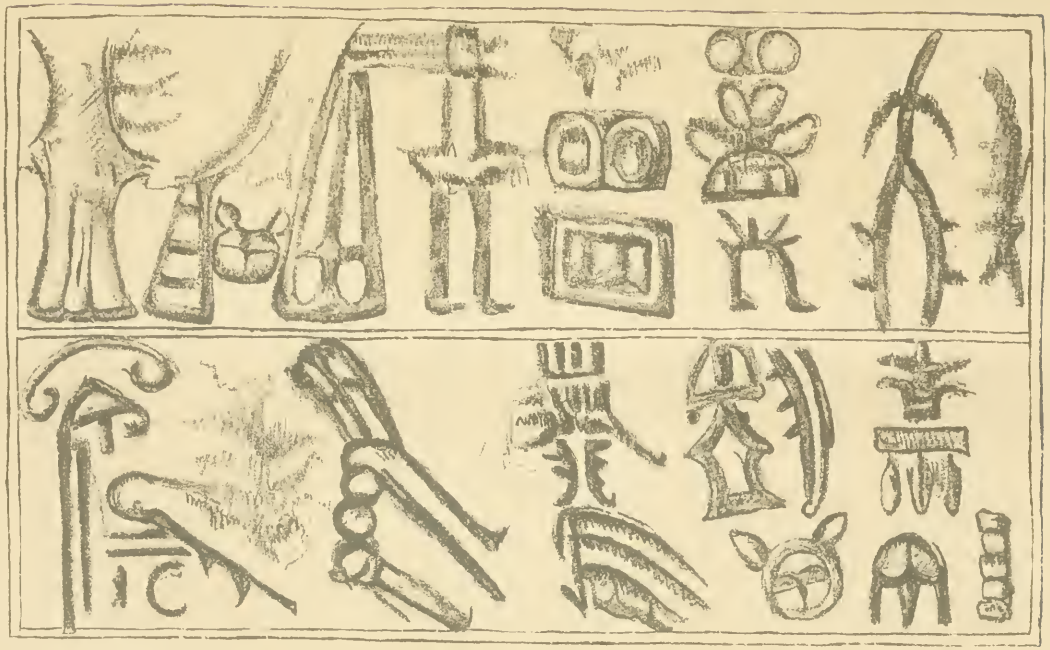


W.H. Rylands del.

From Hay Coll.
No. 8445.e

HYPOCEPHALI IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

Vincent Brooks Day & Son Imp



W. H. Rosenberg

INSCRIPTION FORMERLY AT ALEPPO

FROM A DRAWING BY GENERAL CRAWFORD

HYPOCEPHALUS IN THE M

from a tracing by M.P.

E DU LOUVRE.

Horrack.

Il n'existe pas de racine הלח en hébreu ; la racine לוח est inusitée et ne donne aucun sens satisfaisant ; d'ailleurs cette forme ne pourrait s'expliquer que par un hiphil, or le hiphil en phénicien s'écrit par un iod. Il faut donc avoir recours, ainsi que je le disais déjà à M. Pinches, à la racine הלך, en admettant un changement du ך en ח. Ce changement ne doit être admis qu'avec une grande réserve ; pourtant M. Renan a réuni un certain nombre d'exemples, pour les cas du ך raphé dans lesquels il est difficile d'avoir recours à une autre explication. Voyez *Corpus Inscr. Sem.*, Nos. 50, 132, 143. Il faut donc probablement traduire אלהלח soit par le Kal de הלך, "El s'avance avec majesté," soit, ce qui serait mieux d'accord avec la formation ordinaire des noms théophores, par un piel, auquel on donnerait la force du hiphil : "Celui qu'El conduit." De toute façon, le sens me paraît douteux.

No. 3.

Sur une coupe de même provenance et de même époque, de style égyptien. La décoration, qui est assez riche, se compose d'une rangée de cartouches et d'une rangée d'hieroglyphes, séparées par des fleurs de lotus. Le milieu du plat est occupé par une grande étoile, au centre de laquelle s'en trouve une seconde beaucoup plus petite. Entre les rais de l'étoile on voit des fleurs de lotus surmontées de disques, dans lesquels sont inscrites des étoiles semblables à celle du centre.

Sur le rebord extérieur :

לבעלעזר . ספרא

"*À Baalezor, le scribe.*"

L'inscription ne présente aucune difficulté. Le nom Baalezor est phénicien, c'est celui d'un roi de Tyr ; mais la présence de l' א dans le mot ספר, "scribe," prouve d'une façon certaine que nous avons affaire à de l'araméen. Les deux mots sont séparés par un point.

Sur la même ligne, à une certaine distance du commencement de cette inscription, on aperçoit les traces de quelques lettres, pleines de vert de gris et à peu près effacées. Je n'ai pas réussi à les déchiffrer Elles paraissent plus grandes que les autres, et il n'y a rien dans l'intervalle.

Cette dernière inscription, malgré sa brièveté, nous fournit la clef d'un ou deux des problèmes que soulèvent les graffiti encore trop rares sur vases de métal. Quel est le sens de ces inscriptions ?

Sont-ce des marques d'auteur, ou de propriétaire? La mention "scribe," ספרא, qui suit le nom de Baalezor, ne laisse subsister aucun doute à cet égard. Puisque Baalezor était scribe, il n'était pas fondeur; le lamed initial est donc, dans ce monument et dans les autres de même genre, le lamed d'appartenance, et ces inscriptions sont des marques de propriétaire. Cette induction est confirmée par une observation que m'a communiquée à la Société de Linguistique M. Robert Mowat. Sur les monuments grecs et romains, les inscriptions analogues, toutes les fois qu'elles sont tracées à la pointe, sont des marques de propriétaire; les marques d'auteur, au contraire, sont ou bien imprimées dans le métal, ou bien faites au repoussé.

Une autre remarque également intéressante, c'est le caractère araméen de ces trois inscriptions. Nous avons vu que pour la dernière il est établi d'une façon indiscutable par la présence de l'aleph emphatique. Mais, même pour les deux autres, la présence deux fois répetée du nom El donne quelque consistance aux inductions assez vagues que l'on peut tirer de certains détails paléographiques. D'une façon générale, et sans vouloir en faire une règle absolue, El joue dans les noms propres araméens le même rôle que Baal dans les noms phéniciens. À priori, on a donc lieu de croire de préférence que des noms dans la composition desquels entre le nom du Dieu El sont d'origine araméenne; et, dans ce cas spécial, la chose est rendue à peu-près certaine par la proximité de la troisième inscription, qui est nettement araméenne. Le caractère araméen des inscriptions ne préjuge pas d'ailleurs la question de la provenance des plats. Ils peuvent très bien être d'origine phénicienne et avoir appartenu à des Syriens. Des vases trouvés dans les ruines du palais de Nimroud ne pouvaient même guère avoir d'autres propriétaires.

On doit en dire autant du quatrième vase à inscription de Nimroud, publié, il y à déjà longtemps, par Layard.* Ce vase, sur lequel on lit la légende לאבפט, ou plutôt, si l'on s'en tient à la forme des lettres, לאבגט (les deux noms sont également obscurs), doit aussi être mis au nombre des monuments à inscriptions araméennes. Enfin, il faut ranger dans la même catégorie deux autres coupes, dont l'une, qui est conservée au Varvakeion à Athènes, a été publiée par M. Euting;† l'autre, qui est au Musée de la Société des Amis des Sciences de Moscou, a paru dans la

* Layard, *Mon. of Nineveh*, 2nd Series, pl. LXII.

† *Punische Steine*, p. 33, pl. XL.

*Zeitschrift für der D. Morgenl. Gesellschaft.** Toutes les deux, portent des inscriptions franchement araméennes, mais plus récentes, et doivent sans doute être rapportées à l'époque Persane.

En somme, sur sept coupes à inscriptions sémitiques que nous connaissons, six portent des épigraphes araméennes; une seule fait exception, la coupe de Palestrina;† mais là, l'inscription même, אשנימעד בן עשתא, a un caractère quelque peu différent; elle ne débute pas par le *lamed*, et elle est placée, non pas sur le rebord extérieur, mais au milieu du plat, audessus de l'aile de l'épervier. L' א qui termine le second nom propre doit être considéré non comme un aramaïsme, mais plutôt comme un indice de provenance carthaginoise. Les lettres d'ailleurs présentent le même mélange que certaines inscriptions de Malte et de Sardaigne; on y trouve à côté de certaines formes très-archaïques d'autres beaucoup plus récentes,‡ de telle sorte qu'il est difficile, dans l'état actuel de la science, d'en déterminer l'époque avec quelque précision. Tout ce que l'on peut dire, c'est qu'elle est certainement antérieure, et peut-être de beaucoup, au 4e siècle avant l'ère chrétienne.

The following description of the Hebrew Inscription in the Necropolis at Joppa, published with the *Proceedings* for February, has been received from M. Clermont-Ganneau:—

If the archaic Hebrew inscriptions in Phœnician characters, that is to say, anterior to our era, may be counted on the ten fingers, the Hebrew inscriptions in square characters, going back to the first ages of the Christian era, although more common, are still not very frequently to be met with in Palestine. The greater part of those which are known are rarely of a monumental nature. They are in general *graffiti*, hastily traced on ossuaries, or, as in the Necropolis of Joppa, on *tituli*, or little slabs of marble, fixed on the wall of the sepulchral cave. The necropolis of ancient Joppa, of which I determined the position in 1873, and which has since furnished a good number of Judaic, Greek, and some Hebrew inscriptions, might be the object of fruitful excavations. Quite recently Arab quarrymen have found there a Hebrew inscription, which by its dimensions, its form, and its tenour, is clearly not of the ordinary kind. It has been acquired by

* *Z.D.M.G.*, t. XXXIII, 1879, p. 292, pl. II.

† *Corpus Inscrip: Sem.*, No. 164.

‡ *Cf. Corpus Inscrip. Sem.*, Nos. 123, 123 bis, et 144.

the Baron von Ustinow, resident at Jaffa, who has had the kindness to send me a photograph and an excellent squeeze of it. It is engraved on a block of limestone measuring about 0·60 m. long by 0·15 m. wide. It is composed of three lines, enclosed in a tablet, with dove-tailed *oreillettes*, in the Roman style. The characters are well formed, and interesting for the history of Hebrew writing. The language is the Aramaic or Chaldæan Hebrew, such as it appears in the Talmud. Although it did not fail to present some difficulties, I have been able to decipher it completely :—

הדא קבורתא דיודן ברה
דרבי טרפון בירבי נוח נפש זיכרונו
לברכה שלום

"This is the sepulchre of Youdan, son of Rabbi Tarphon, the Beirabbi. May his soul rest in peace, and his memory be blessed. Farewell."

This raises several curious questions :—

First of all, as to the proper names. That of יודן,* *Youdan*, is met with several times among the names of ancient rabbis. We know, for instance, a *Rabbi Youdan, son of Aijibo*, ר׳ יודן בריה דר׳ אייבו.†

That of טרפון,‡ *Tarphon*, has been illustrated by the famous adversary of Akiba. Rabbi Tarphon, of Lydda, figures among the learned men who assembled in that city at the epoch of Hadrian. Justinus Martyr, in his dialogue, charges this zealot, a determined enemy of the Judæo-Christians, with playing the part of adversary of Christianity. This name of Tarphon is, moreover, nothing but the transcription of the Greek Τρύφων, *Tryphon*, a name in very general use in Syria, which the Hellenizing Jews had adopted ; it was borne, for example, by one of the members of the Sanhedrim of Alexandria, colleague of Euodios and of Andron, who are mentioned on the occasion of the massacre of the Delta in the year 38.

The title of בירבי, *Beirabbi*, which is spelt and pronounced in various manners, בריבי, *Berabbi*, בריבי, *Beribbi*, has not a very clear origin, but its meaning is not doubtful. It is, in the Talmud,

* Or יודנה, *Youdana*.

† *Abba Youdan, Rabbi Youdan the Naśi*, &c. (*Cf.* Levy, *nhbr. Wœrterb.* s.v. See also Carmoly's "Pelerinages Juifs en Terre Sainte," page 166.)

‡ This is, I think, the true reading. The *phe* and the *waw* are connected ; it would be wrong to consider these two united but distinct elements as a single *tet*, and to read the name טרטן. (Cf. *Rabbi* Yose, fils de טרטא.)

a title of eminent scholars (belonging to the בירב, *bê-rab*, or to the ביתרב, *bet-rab*, to the grand school). A Rabbi Beribbi is an authorized doctor. We have, then, certainly, in our inscription, to do with a personage of mark, and worthy of the carefully composed epitaph by which honour was done to his memory.

The epithet of Beirabbi, by the position which it occupies in the phrase, would seem rather to relate to the father to the Rabbi Tarphon, than to the son Youdan. However, without wishing to come to a precise identification, I cannot help comparing with this monument a passage of the Talmud (*Kiddushim*, 21 *b*), where there appears a Youdan exactly described as Beribbi : יודן בריבי.

The following communication has been received :—

DEAR SIR, *February* 19*th*, 1884.

Having been perplexed and confused by the various diverse and complex systems as propounded by various Assyrian scholars, English, French, and German, etc., and feeling sure that it must cause great inconvenience to general readers, the undersigned, having paid considerable attention to this subject, have decided to adopt a rational system of transliteration, which is as follows :—

| *Character.* | *Transliteration.* | *Character.* | *Transliteration.* |
|---|---|---|---|
| | ʾ with any vowel | | sa |
| | ḥa | | ša |
| | ga | | za |
| | ka | | ṣa |
| | ḳa | | da |
| | ba | | ṭa |
| | pa | | ta |
| | ma | | a |
| | na | | e |
| | la | | i |
| | ra | or | u |

Following the example of the Sanskrit grammarians, we have given the character carrying the vowel *a*. If at some future time it be found necessary or desirable to alter any part of this system, we hope it will not be considered inconsistent, our only object is to establish a simple method of transliteration.

G. BERTIN.
THEO. G. PINCHES.
E. A. BUDGE.

The following letter has been received :—

DEAR SIR,

Having noticed in the last number of the *Proceedings*, that you have copied, for publication, the whole of the hypocephali in the British Museum, and that you would like to receive copies of specimens which members might possess, I beg to enclose an exact tracing of a fine hypocephalus made of linen and plaster, presented to the Museum of the Louvre, and of which I gave an account in the *Revue Archéologique*, 1862, VI, p. 129. I add an extract of this article, as it may perhaps interest the readers of the *Proceedings*, although the subject has been ably treated by the eminent Egyptian scholar, Dr. Samuel Birch, President of the Society.

It is generally known, that one of the great dogmas of the religion of the ancient Egyptians was the belief in the continuation of life after death, and that the new existence was to begin in the old body, which the soul was to rejoin. This belief caused them to embalm the body, in order to preserve it intact until the day of resurrection, and to protect it by virtue of talismans. Amongst these amulets was the disk called hypocephalus, which was placed under the head of the mummy, to maintain the vital warmth of the body. The scenes portrayed on these disks relate, in all their details, to the resurrection and the renewed birth after death, and this idea is more particularly symbolized by the course of the sun, the living image of divine generation.

The hypocephalus in question is divided into four compartments, two of which are opposed to the two others, as if to indicate the two celestial hemispheres; the upper one above the terrestrial world, and the lower one below it. A little inscription seems to denote the name of the amulet; it heads the part which represents the lower or

dark hemisphere, from whence the sun was supposed to have come forth to mark the beginning of time, and reads as follows: "[Disk to be placed] beneath the head of the Osirian Tatu, the justified." Other specimens give the variation, "Producer of heat beneath the head of the Osirian ——."

The first compartment shows the soul of the deceased, in the form of a hawk with a human head, adoring a cow which wears a disk and two feathers. Behind the soul is the hieroglyphical sign for *shadow*. The cow represents the goddess Hathor, who fulfils the important *rôle* of the Celestial Mother, and personifies the lower hemisphere of heaven in which the sun sets in the evening to issue from it the next morning, as after a new birth. She was supposed, in that character, to receive the deceased on his arrival at the gates of the Occident. Here, it is the soul of the deceased who asks to be born again in the bosom of the Celestial Mother. The 162nd chapter of the Book of the Dead shows the figure of this cow, and the text relating to it (which will be given further down) recommends, amongst other things, that her image should be on the hypocephalus. Behind the cow stands a goddess, having for her head a disk with the mystical eye in it, and holding a lotus flower, another symbol of renewed birth. According to the late M. de Rougé, the mystical eye, called *Uza*, conveys the idea of the renewal of a period, like the full-moon, the solstice, the equinoxes, &c., and it designates here the accomplishment of the period of resurrection, always assimilated with the daily and annual revival of the sun. The seated deity, half man and half hawk, is a type of Amon, the generating principle; he holds the whip in his hand, and an ithyphallic serpent with a hawk's head and human legs offers him the mystical eye. All these different symbols represent on one side the female, and on the other the male element, to express the idea of the eternal generative power.

The second compartment shows the Sun in his boat, in the form of Num-Ra, ram-headed, a type the Sun generally takes when he traverses the lower hemisphere of heaven. The god is accompanied by six divine personages called *Ketiu*, who conduct and protect him in his course. At their head is Horus, with a hawk's head and the double crown of Upper and Lower Egypt, piercing with his spear the serpent Apophis, who tries to stop the march of the solar planet. This scene represents, allegorically, the power of the rising Sun dispersing the shadows by the brilliancy of his rays. A child, carrying

his hand to his mouth, is seated on a pedestal placed at the prow of the boat; it is Horus the younger, symbol of infancy, and here also of the newborn or rising Sun. The prow is ornamented by a large lotus blossom to enforce the same idea. A second boat carries a cynocephalus seated in a shrine; he is another symbol of the *Uza*, or perfect equilibrium, but also an emblem of Thoth, whom he replaces very often, when this god is identified with the moon. Before the cynocephalus is a kind of altar, with a libation vase and a lotus flower, the symbolism of which has already been explained. Other specimens represent the celestial and eternal generation of the Sun, by the goddess Nu-t, or heaven, leaning, with outstretched arms, over a scarabæus, the masculine principle of generation. This emblem refers, more particularly, to the material reconstruction of the being.

In the upper compartment of the reversed hemisphere is a double-faced deity, with two feathers on his head, and holding in his left hand a standard surmounted by a jackal. It is Amon, the supreme god of Thebes, identified with Ra, the Sun, under the name of Amon-Ra. As such, he receives all the qualifications attributed to the two deities, and represents (according to the late M. Devéria) the unseen and mysterious principle of Amon and the visible and brilliant power of Ra combined. The boat on the right contains the ark of Osiris defunct. A horizontal scarabæus is above it, having on one side the name of Isis, and on the other that of Nephthys, the two sisters of Osiris, who by their prayers effected the resurrection of their brother. They are supposed also to accomplish that of the deceased, as shown by some specimens on which the two goddesses are represented addressing prayers to his soul. On the left, a mummified hawk expanding his wings over a boat symbolizes, more especially, the resurrection of the soul. Above the hawk is the hieroglyphical sign for BA, *the soul*, and the forepart of a ram, both followed by plural terminations, and often used to express the same idea.

The centre of the second compartment is occupied by a quadruple ram-headed deity, Num-Ra, representing (according to Champollion) the Spirit of the four Elements, the Soul of the material world, and (according to Devéria) the Spirit of the four Winds or four cardinal points. Eight cynocephali, four on each side of the god, raise their hands in prayer. Two cartouches inscribed with serpents, and two cerastes, complete the scene.

The circular inscription informs us, that the hypocephalus belonged to a lady named Tatu; it reads as follows: "Oh Amon of the Amons, who art in heaven above, direct thy face towards the body of thy son Ra; maintain it in good condition; preserve it in the funeral region; turn thy face towards the body of thy daughter, the august Osirian, who is in the funeral region, Tatu, the justified, daughter of the lady of the house, Nes-Tafnut, the justified. Let warmth be beneath her head in the funeral region."

This formula is found on several specimens; it is taken from the 162nd chapter of the Book of the Dead, which relates to the hypocephalus, and bears the title: "To produce warmth under the head of the deceased." Line 8, the text reads as follows: "Words to pronounce on the image of a cow, made of good gold, put on the neck of the deceased, and which is also to be drawn on a new charta placed under his head. Abundant warmth will then exist throughout his body, as if he were on earth. Such is the very great care the cow takes of her son Ra when he sets." The text continues in the 11th line: "Words to pronounce when you put this goddess on the neck of the deceased: Oh, Amon of the Amons, who art in heaven above, direct thy face towards the body of thy son! maintain it in good condition in the funeral region."

The above extracts from the Book of the Dead show that the undertakers of the funeral of the deceased Tatu conformed entirely to the rules given for the preparation of her hypocephalus.

Very truly yours,

P. J. DE HORRACK.

Paris, 12th February, 1884.

The following has been received from Dr. Birch, in continuation of his former remarks:—

The first hypocephalus, No. 8445 *a*, has only in the middle the mystical cow of Athor, with the head ornament of the disk and ostrich feather and pendant of the sceptre of Athor; behind it is the fan *khaibi*, emblem of 'the shade;' before it stand the four genii of the Hades. Above are two horizontal lines of hieroglyphs, the purport of which is obscure, apparently reading—

"let me (*ta kua*) come protected, weeping from my abode." The

line beneath reads which is also obscure, and the lower line *a pa ā s*, 'oh place of its abode.' *m k'r ka t'a*, "under the authority of the male *ka t'a*" or (doubles). This part is obscure, and is not repeated in the texts of the chapters relating to the hypocephali. The text round the border reads, "I am Ammon, who is in thy mystery in thy . . . . I am excluded from thy region like Tum in the great place in Heliopolis, I am the spirit not stopped at thy terrors."

The whole inscription here is difficult, the form seems to be *em tut*, 'out of thy hand,' or 'power.' I am Tum in thy land, or the one put away from thy land, apparently alliterative with Tum, the god of Heliopolis, to whom these mystical hypocephali or eyes refer. The close of the sentence is obscure, but occurs in the same form on another hypocephalus. It reads, *hair rnna sent k*, 'turned back to the terrors of thee,' or else 'my name (*rnna*) turning back thy terror.' There is no name of the proprietor attached to this hypocephalus.

The other hypocephalus, 8445 *c*, has the same scenes as those previously described, the upper section having the hawk of Socharis in the boat (chapter 71 of the Ritual), above five rams and three birds, and the god Ra in the (souls) boat vignette of chapters 100, 101, 102, 136; above the boat is the vertical scarabæus, between the boats is the deity with two heads and the jackal sceptre, probably the mystical figure of chapter 165. In the middle section is the four ram-headed type of Amen Ra, holding the sceptre *t'am*, or *uasm*, having on each side two cynocephali standing in adoration. Before the god a cerastes serpent; behind, another serpent in an oval. On the other division, reversed, is the cow of Athor, having before it the four genii of the Amenti, and the scarabæus; behind the goddess with the eye in the disk for head, with flower in right hand; behind the cow is the seated disked Pantheistic deity adored by Nahab, or Nahab-ka. The inscription round the margin reads: 'Oh Ammon (of) the Ammons who are above (or the Amenti), give thy face to the body of the sistrum player of Amen Ra, Nasharpakhrat, justified daughter of the divine divine father sacrificer Hasnaf . . . . . of . . . Amen justified, making her safe in Kar Neter (Hades), thou hast made the warmth under head . . . . being on earth."

In this inscription occurs the unusual and later form *Uas-ra* (Brugsch, *Worterbuch*, 986), for or "Osiris," and the late sacerdotal title perhaps a variant of *tebh*, in the sense of 'sacrificer' (Brugsch, *Worterbuch*, p. 1633), but no actual variant of the form on the hypocephalus has yet been found, and the word, although often repeated, is of ambiguous meaning. The name Hasenef is probably a variation of Haresentef, 'delight of her father,' found on a late tablet. This hypocephalus, like the others, is of a late period, about B.C. 350.

The following letter has been received :—

THE BOW IN THE EGYPTIAN SKY.

DEAR MR. RYLANDS,

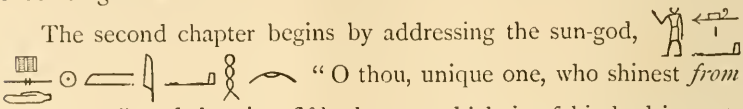
In my paper on Egyptian Mythology recently published in the *Transactions* of our Society, I hesitated (Vol. VIII, page 213) about identifying with the Rainbow the Bow mentioned in the 132nd chapter of the Book of the Dead. The Egyptian text is as follows :—

"I am the Lion-god, issuing from the Bow; he (the god) hath shot forth, he is the eye of Horus."

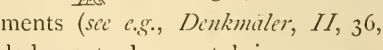
What is that Bow from which the Sun can be said to issue, or to have shot forth? A very good hint towards the solution of this enigma will be found in the Εισαγωγὴ of the Greek astronomer Geminus, who wrote in the year A.D. 77. This very able writer, in his seventh chapter, proves by excellent arguments that the moon derives its light from the sun, and he makes what Arago calls "l'observation très délicate" that a line drawn from the centre of the sun bisects at right angles the line which joins the two horns of the crescent.

Let us then call the Crescent a Bow. This Bow is always turned to the sun; the arrow which it shoots necessarily has for its aim the sun, or the sun is itself the missile shot from it.

The moon's crescent is, I believe, the real solution of the mythological riddle; which really implies an observation of lunar phenomena not less delicate than that which is praised in the Greek astronomer. But there are other allusions in the Book of the Dead which imply that the most ancient Egyptians were aware that the moon's light was derived from the sun.

The second chapter begins by addressing the sun-god,  "O thou, unique one, who shinest *from* the moon;" and the sixty-fifth chapter, which is of kindred import, begins in the same way: "O thou who shinest forth from the moon."

Such is the true sense of these two passages. The preposition or , *em*, is undoubtedly susceptible of the sense of *like;* but it is not in Egypt, but rather in northern regions like our own, that the sun is likely to be addressed as shining *like* the moon. And if he really shone like the moon he would not be *uā*, unique.

It is a delightful thing to acknowledge one's errors. Let me therefore take this opportunity of saying that I was wrong at p. 199 (note) of this paper on Mythology, in my explanation of  The latter sign is not a mistake for as I thought, for it occurs repeatedly in very ancient monuments (*see e.g.*, *Denkmäler*, *II*, 36, 89 *a* and *c*). But this acknowledgment does not bring me one whit nearer to the opinion which I was controverting.

P. LE P. RENOUF.

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## THE ALEPPO INSCRIPTION.

In my note on this inscription printed in the *Proceedings* of June 5th, 1883, I mentioned that a sketch had been taken by Major-General S. W. Crawford. It is, so far as I am aware, the only other copy not published, and I am happy, through the kindness of Major-General Crawford, to be able to place it before the Members of the Society, and thus complete the series of illustrations of this text, the original being now destroyed.

The sketch of which the annexed plate is a copy was made on the 31st March, 1876, and is thus described by Major-General Crawford:—Basalt stone in Mosque of Famia-el-Kâkàn, Aleppo. "I did the best I could to copy it exactly. There was another stone with an inscription of same character in a house near by. The stone was used as a sill, and the characters were illegible. A crowd collected as I was copying the one near the Antioch gate, but as I had protection I was not disturbed."

I cannot but agree with the opinion of the late George Smith, who told General Crawford that it was the best copy that had been taken of the inscription, and I may add that from it some of the errors of other copyists may be easily corrected.

It must, however, always be a subject of regret that none of our officials in Aleppo, with so many opportunities, ever took the trouble to obtain either a photograph or squeeze of this interesting stone.

W. H. RYLANDS.

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NOTE.—The description by M. Clermont-Ganneau of the altar found near Mount Gerezim, has unfortunately not yet come to hand. It will be published in a future number of the *Proceedings*.

W. H. R.

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The next Meeting of the Society will be held at 9, Conduit Street, Hanover Square, W., on Tuesday, 1st April, 1884, at 8 p.m., when the following papers will be read:—

I. Dr. CHOTZNER:—"Notes on the Social Position and Life of the Hebrew Woman in Biblical Times."

II. Rev. A. LÖWY:—"Technological Terms (Hebraic and non-Hebraic), marking the progress of Ancient Culture."

## ERRATA,

*Proceedings*, February, 1884.

Page 77, line 8 from end, *after* Semitic *add* alphabet.

Page 77, line 7 from end, *for* letter, names *read* letter-names.

Page 79, line 23, *for* then *read* the.

Page 80, line 8, *for* Prissi *read* Prisse.

Page 81, line 16, *for* Epypt *read* Egypt.

Page 81, line 11 from end, *after* long *insert* been.

Page 82, line 8 from end, *for* syllabisms *read* syllabism.

Page 85, line 20, *for* [illegible] *read* [illegible].

Page 86, line 23, *for* [illegible] *read* [illegible].

## THE FOLLOWING BOOKS ARE REQUIRED FOR THE LIBRARY OF THE SOCIETY.

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BOTTA, Monuments de Ninive. 5 vols., folio. 1847–1850.
PLACE, Ninive et l'Assyrie, 1866–1869. 3 vols., folio.
BRUGSCH-BEY, Grammaire Démotique. 1 vol., folio.
——————— Geographische Inschriften Altaegyptische Denkmaeler. Vols. I—III (Brugsch).
——————— Recueil de Monuments Égyptiens, copiés sur lieux et publiés par H. Brugsch et J. Dümichen. (4 vols., and the text by Dümichen of vols. 3 and 4.)
DÜMICHEN, Historische Inschriften, &c., 1st series, 1867.
——————————————— 2nd series, 1869.
——————— Altaegyptische Kalender-Inschriften, 1866.
——————————————— Tempel-Inschriften, 1862. 2 vols., folio.
GOLENISCHEFF, Die Metternichstele. Folio, 1877.
LEPSIUS, Nubian Grammar, &c., 1880.
DE ROUGÉ, Études Égyptologiques. 13 vols., complete to 1880.
WRIGHT, Arabic Grammar and Chrestomathy.
SCHROEDER, Die Phönizische Sprache.
HAUPT, Die Sumerischen Familiengesetze.
SCHRADER, Die Keilinschriften und das Alte Testament. 1872.
RAWLINSON, CANON, 6th and 7th Ancient Monarchies.
——————————— History of Egypt. 2 vols. 1882.
OSBURN, The Antiquities of Egypt. 8vo., 1841.
ROBINSON, Biblical Researches. 8vo., 1841.
PIERRET, Dictionnaire d'Archéologie Égyptienne. 8vo. Paris, 1875.
BURKHARDT, Eastern Travels.
WILKINSON, Materia Hieroglyphica. Malta, 1824–30. (*Text only.*)
CHABAS, Mélanges Égyptologiques. 1862–1873.
——————— L'Égyptologie. Tomes I and II, 1874 and 1875.
MASPERO, Du genre épistolaire chez les Égyptiens de l'époque Phraonique. 8vo. Paris, 1872.
——————— De Carchemis oppidi Situ et Historia Antiquissimâ. 8vo. Paris, 1872.

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# *PROCEEDINGS*

OF

# THE SOCIETY

OF

# BIBLICAL ARCHÆOLOGY.

## FOURTEENTH SESSION, 1883-84.

*Sixth Meeting, 1st April*, 1884.

SAMUEL BIRCH, D.C.L., LL.D., &c., PRESIDENT,

IN THE CHAIR.

The following Presents were announced, and thanks ordered to be returned to the Donors :—

From the Royal Society :—The Proceedings. Vol. XXXVI. No. 29. 8vo. London, 1884.

From the Royal Geographical Society :—The Proceedings and Monthly Record of Geography. Vol. VI. No. 4. 8vo. London, 1884.

From the Royal Institute of British Architects :—The Proceedings Session 1883-84. Nos. 9 and 10. 4to. London.

From the Académie Impériale des Sciences de St. Petérsbourg :—Mélanges asiatiques. Tome IX. Livr. 1. 8vo. St. Petersbourg, 1883.

From the Editor :—The American Antiquarian and Oriental Journal. Vol. VI. No. 1. January, 1884. 8vo. Chicago.

From Dr. Oscar von Lem :—The Pentateuch, with a Russian Translation by M. Mandelstamm. 4to. Berlin, 1872.

From the Author :—Dictionnaire du Papyrus Harris. No. 1. Publié par S. Birch, d'après l'original du British Museum, par le Dr. Karl Piehl. 8vo. Vienna, 1882.

From the Author :—Dialectes Egyptiens, retrouvés au Papyrus Harris, No. 1, par le Docteur Karl Piehl. 8vo. Stockholm. 1882.

From the Author:—Israel im Aegypten. Von Prof. Dr. Heinrich Brugsch. 8vo.

From the Author:—Die Chamirsprache in Abessinien. Part I. Von Leo Reinisch. 8vo. Wien. 1884.

Aus dem Jahrgange 1883 der Sitzungsberichte der Phil.-hist. Classe der kais.-Akademie der Wissenschaften (CV. B., 2. Heft, S. 573), besonders abgedruckt.

From the Author (D. Pierides):—The Cyprus Museum: a short account of operations. 4to.

The following have been purchased by the Council for the Library of the Society:—

Hieroglyphics collected by the Egyptian Society, arranged by Thomas Young, M.D., F.R.S. Folio. London. 1882.

Pauli Ernesti Jablonskii Opuscula, quibus lingva antiqvitas Aegyptiorum, difficilia librorum sacrorum loca et Historiae ecclesiasticae capita illvstrantur. 4 vols. 8vo. Lugduni Batavorum. 1804 to 1813.

Scripturae linguae Phœniciae monumenta, quotquot supersunt edita et inedita ad autographorum optimorumque exemplorum fidem edidit additisque de scriptura et lingua Phœnicum commentariis illustravit Guil. Gesenius. 3 parts. 4to. Lipsiæ. 1837.

Palms and Temples, being notes of a four months' voyage upon the Nile. By Julian T. B. Arnold. 8vo. London. 1882.

The following were nominated for election at the next Meeting on May 6th, 1884:—

Principal John Cairns, D.D., United Presbyterian College, Edinburgh.

Dr. G. Lausing, The American Mission, Cairo.

I. D. Moody, Mendota, Illinois, U.S.A.

Dillwyn Parish, Widmore, Bromley, Kent.

J. G. E. Sibbald, The Admiralty, Spring Gardens.

The following were elected members of the Society, having been nominated on March 4th:—

Rev. Antony John Hassing, St. Anne's, Keighley, Yorks.

Sir Henry B. Meux, Bart., Dauntsey House, Chippenham, Wilts.

John Zeuch, Brühl 53, III, Leipzig.

Heinrich Zimmern, 13, Large Strasse, Leipzig.

Professor Thomas Joseph Lamy, Université de Louvain.

A paper was read by Dr. Chotzner, "On the Life and Social Position of Hebrew Women in Biblical Times:"—

This paper was intended to give, as far as can be ascertained from the Biblical records, a faithful description of the mode of life, and of the rank held at home by Hebrew women. An erroneous notion, Dr. Chotzner stated, seemed to prevail as to the place assigned to Hebrew women in the family and society by the Mosaic law, as well as to the actual position she occupied in Biblical times. It was, he said, generally believed that, owing to the fact that polygamy was silently tolerated, and because a certain amount of authority was given to the father and husband over his daughters and wife respectively the position of the woman of old must have been a low and degraded one. This was found on examination not to be correct, and from the issue of this review of the past history of her position it would be seen first, that she then enjoyed a greater amount of freedom than any other Oriental woman, and also that her mode of life during a long period resembled in some respects what we are accustomed to meet with in modern society.

The records of this history naturally divided themselves into two distinct periods. The first, commencing with the Creation, terminated at the time when the Israelites took possession of Palestine. The second continued from that time up to the date at which the second Temple in Jerusalem was built.

Naturally the prominent features of the first division are great simplicity of manner from their primitive mode of life, occasioned by their living either in the open air or in tents. The same simplicity is manifested in respect to their costume. Having pointed out the peculiarities of their life and condition in the first division, Dr. Chotzner passed to the second, during which a remarkable change took place in the life, habits, and social standing of Hebrew women. The simplicity of manners gave way to a punctilious etiquette, and a life of luxury, and to some extravagant habits. At the same time, little by little, the condition of the women improved, for the most part owing to the natural change brought about by their having a permanent abode in large commercial towns: thus coming more in contact with their own people and foreign nationalities, and producing results which Dr. Chotzner endeavoured to trace from the few incidents of life handed down from ancient times.

The Rev. A. Löwy, Rev. W. Wright, D.D., Rev. J. Marshall, Mr. G. A. Simcox, Dr. S. Louis, Dr. Chotzner, and the President took part in the discussion which ensued.

The following paper by the Rev. A. Löwy, "On Technological Terms in Ancient Semitic Culture and Folk-lore," was read :—

The instructive lecture which Dr. Louis delivered at the last meeting, on the trades mentioned in the Talmud, gave me the suggestion to offer a few observations on these two subjects :—

*First.* On the technological terms in the Hebrew language, and also occurring in other Semitic and in various non-Semitic languages.

*Second.* On the position of the *Smith* among the Semitic and non-Semitic nations.

I. Technological Terms.—I wish to point out a curious phenomenon in the technological history of the ancient Hebrews, namely, that their words relating to handicrafts gave way very considerably to Greek and Latin terms, which received their denizenship in the post-biblical literature of the Jews and the Syro-Christians.

The cause of this dismissal of ancient technical terms and the introduction of non-Semitic substitutes can easily be accounted for. The changes in the ownership of the country by successive conquerors revolutionised the languages of the original inhabitants. The conquests of Alexander the Great brought a new species of culture into the lands peopled by a large portion of the Semitic race. Domestic and public improvements were now made in various handicrafts, and these improvements having affected the employments and the habits of the people, they found a faithful record in Hebraic and in Aramaic literature. The Greek language, in particular, gained in ancient times the same preponderance, as the French language—through causes peculiar to itself—has acquired in modern centuries. In Alexandria the Jews used to recite their prayers in Greek. Opinions expressing admiration for the melodious Greek language occur in ancient Jewish works; and these opinions are set aside by other Jewish authorities, who would not permit that Jewish maidens should be instructed in Greek. Even this objection proves that Greek was as much in vogue among the Jews as it was among the Romans. Within a hundred years before the rise of Christianity there came the incubus of the Roman domination. These foreigners brought with them an additional nomenclature, but the ancient Hebrew and the Aramaic writings were more impregnated with

Hellenic than with Latin words. In the tradesman's shop, and in the marketing bazaar, an interchange of foreign words, side by side with a traffic in mercantile goods, became a matter of common necessity. The new words served as the stamp and became the evidence of a newly introduced culture. A few words relating to various trades, occupations, places and things, may suffice to illustrate the facts which have been here adduced.

The weaver, Hebrew *oreg*, is called in Rabbinical writings and in the Syriac, *gardāï;* from the dialectic Greek word γερδος.

The textile material is called (from the same Greek word) *garditha.* This recurs in the continental word *gardine* (a curtain).

The fringes on the fringed garment of the Israelites, in Hebrew, *tzitzith*, is in the Aramaic versions of Onkelos and of Jonathan ben Uzziel, *kruspĕda*, from the Greek κράσπεδον. The same word, but in plural, is employed in the Septuagint version of the law relating to the fringed garments. (Numbers xv, 38.) The Greek translators apparently read *tzitzioth* ("fringes"), instead of *tzitzith* ("a fringe").

Baker's Trade. Fine flour, in Hebrew *soleth*, is called in the Aramaic dialect *kimcha semida.* The latter word corresponds with the Greek σεμίδαλις, or σεμεδαλις.

Several terms relating to confectionery have characteristic names derived from the Greek. For instance, *iscritvan*, a thin cake, in Greek ἐσχαρίτης.

Architecture. The architect is called in the Rabbinical language *architecton.* A palace is called *paltin;* the dining-room, *teraclin* (*triclinium*)*;* a treasury is called *apotheke;* and theatre, *tiatron*, pl. *tiatroth.*

Carpenter's and Joiner's Work. The Hebrew *hadom*, a footstool, is in Rabbinical language *epipodin*, from the Greek ὑποπόδιον.

To the Greeks the Hebrews were also indebted for an insight into engineering work, an engine or a machine being called *mangania*, from the Greek word μάγγανον.

With the view of eventually making a comparison between the culture of the ancient Hebrews and their post-biblical successors, I noted down all the technical terms which occur in the Hebrew Scriptures. A strict classification of these terms is impossible. Many words which could be placed under one particular head might with equal cogency be included in a different class. Omitting half-a-

dozen words relating to the potter's work, the technical stock of words is approximately as follows :—

1. Terms relating to artificers in metals, stone, and wood, and which concern the producer, the working material, and the product, amount to 160 words.
2. Terms relating to buildings and kindred structures, 140 words.
3. Implements, 130 words.
4. Concerning the weaver's pursuit, 130 words.
5. Relative to garments, 50 words.
6. Relative to food, drink, and ointments, 40 words.
7. Relative to weights and measures, 35 words.
8. Relative to colours, 15 words.

Total of technical terms, 700 words.

II. In referring to the position which the smith holds in the antiquities of nations, we find among the Semites no less than among the Aryans, that the title of the smith covers a much larger ground than is implied by his modern productions. The smith holds a place of his own in the ancient traditions which are reproduced in general folk-lore.

In the present inquiry I will adopt the following order: First I will examine the various significations of the Hebrew word *charash*, one meaning of which is "smith."

I will next pass on to languages akin to Hebrew, and then refer to Aryan names, all of which have engendered curious ideas and traditions. These ideas and traditions among Semitic and non-Semitic races seem to run in parallel lines, though originally they may have radiated from one centre.

The idiomatic Hebrew expressions relating to the smith are of more ancient date than the monotheistic teachings of Moses, than any legislative enactments against deep-rooted superstitions, than the appearance of Israelites in the community of nations.

It has already been stated that the Hebrew designation of "smith" is CHARASH. According to a common but not always a correct rule, all Hebrew nouns are supposed to have been developed out of verbs. The verb from which we can trace the word *charash* (*Smith*) has four meanings, all of which may be summed up in the idea "to work out," or "to contrive." I give the translation of the verb *charash* in the following order :—

1st. To work as an artificer in common metals, in stone, in wood.

2nd. To work as a ploughman in the fields, that is, to plough.

3rd. To work out a series of thoughts, that is, to be still; also, to be deaf or dumb.

4th. To work out a series of mischievous thoughts, that is, to plot.

These four notions are interchangeable, and are capable of producing a perfect kaleidoscope of poetic imagery.

For example (No. 4), *to plot*, is the same as (No. 2), *to plough*, in the region of mischief. To explain this connection of ideas I refer to Hosea x, 13: "Ye have ploughed up the field of wickedness, ye have reaped iniquity."

I am here principally occupied with the first of these four meanings. The labour and title of the smith as an artificer, or as the contriver of many useful pieces of work, must have been early and widely known when the ancestors of the nations belonging to the stock of the Semitic family were still living together, perhaps on the banks of the Euphrates and the Tigris. The Arabs had not yet taken to the life of nomads, and the Syrians shared the household opinions of those who became the ancestors of the Hebrews.

The smith is the people's prominent artificer, according to the testimonies of Isaiah (xl, 19, 20, and xl, 17), Jeremiah x, 3 and 9), and Hosea viii, 6. He is employed as the manufacturer of idols, as the armourer in the time of war, and as the agricultural implement maker in the time of peace (1 Sam. xiii). Like the corresponding terms in Greek, τεχνίτης, and in Latin, *faber*, the Hebrew word *charash* was applied to the skilful followers of various plastic handicrafts. The iron-smith was distinguished as *charash barzel*, the copper-smith as *charash nechosheth*, the sculptor or stone-worker as *charash eben*, the worker in wood as *charash etzim*. When the art of the smith who worked in iron and in brass became marked by the use of a special apparatus, that is by the use of the bellows, he received the designation of *nafcha*, from *nafach*, to blow with *bellows*, which according to Mr. Pinches is identical with the Assyrian term *napchu*.

But we must turn back to a very primitive time. The people looked with amazement, as village children do in the present day, at the man capable of causing inflexible metal to yield to the force of the fire and the hammer, or capable of converting fused and liquid masses of metal into hard and permanent implements. The artificer became identified with the mysterious worker of miracles and incantations.

In civilising Mosaism, *charash* meant an artificer, a skilful and inventive contriver. In the romance of folk-lore *charash* meant an

artificer whose power extended to supernatural performances. The man professing to understand incantations or snake-charming was called *chacham charashim*, literally the wisest of artificers, and this title was transferred to the skilfully manufacturing artizan. His further epithet was *nebon lachash*, *i.e.*, capable of effectually whispering to snakes, so as to take away from them their deadly poison. If the wizard failed in depriving the adder of its venom there was the excuse ready at hand, the adder is deaf and cannot hear the charmer's incantation. This excuse lies at the foundation of the idiomatic irony in Ps. lviii, 5, "Their fury is like the fury of the serpent. They are like the deaf *pethen* (python) that stoppeth up its ear." In another section of the Bible we meet with a similar reference to serpents and cockatrices, "against which there is no charm."*

In the Aramean, Jewish, and Christian idioms, *charasha* stands for *sorcerer*. The ancient notion that the "smith as the manual artificer" has been at work disappears in these idioms. The *nafcha*, as has already been stated, denotes the true working smith. In the Aramaic language *nagar*, and in Arabic *najar*, stands for the skilful artificer.

And as the various handicrafts became more distinct from each other, this word *nagar* was in the languages just mentioned† employed to denote "carpenter."

A striking parallel between Semitic and non-Semitic folk-lore is exhibited in the position assigned to the smith as the people's great

* It may here be noticed that the verb connected with *nachash*, a snake, is often employed in the sense of working as a wizard or diviner (see for example Gen. xliv, 5 and 15). In Numbers xxiv, 1, the Anglican version has, "he (Balaam) went not . . . . to seek *incantations*." This word "incantations" is a translation of *nechashim*, which literally means "snakes."

† In regard to the origin of this word, I venture to suggest that it originally meant smith, and is identical with the modern Persian word *ahangar*, a smith. *Ahan* means iron, *gar* means a worker. *Ahan* is identical with the Latin *aheneus* or *aeneus*, metal or brass. This word does not seem to have been unknown to the Hebrews. In Jeremiah xxxvi, 22 and 23 occurs the word *aḥ*, which, according to the mediæval lexicographer Parchon, mean a brazen vessel. This *aḥ* is thus connected with *ahan* in Persian and the adjective *aheneus* in Latin. The Persian *ahangar* appears in this instance to be reproduced in the shortened form *nagar*.

Such stunted forms are very frequent in Hebrew, and this interchange of technical terms amongst Semites and Aryans was not of exceptional occurrence. The Persians adopted the Hebrew *tannur*, a furnace, and this instance does not stand isolated.

artificer, as the worker of miracles, as the sagacious deliverer from the danger of poisonous snakes.

In Aryan mythology which has been perpetuated in ancient epics and in long-lived popular traditions, the smith makes his productions of sword and armour irresistible by dipping them in dragon's blood; just as a man taking a bath in such blood was supposed to have made himself invulnerable. The name of the smith always serves as the designation of the owner of pre-eminent manual skill.

Grimm, and after him many others, in exploring the Iceland Sagas, brought to light the fact that the old Scandinavians admired the authors of songs under the title of song-smiths, and they dreaded the baleful smith, that is the worker of injury, whom they styled *bölvasmithr*. The Anglo-Saxons had their workers of glory under the name of *wonder-smith*, and the earners of honour under the name of *ere-smith*. In the same way we find in the text of the Hebrew Scriptures the phrase *choresh raah*, which means the contriver or forger of mischief. The tendency of skill, if not controlled otherwise, is to apply the masterly monopoly to singularly selfish purposes. The limping Vulcan reappears in the *diable boiteux* and in numerous folk-tales in perfectly analogous disguises. The Roman Vulcan is phonetically transferred into the Germanic *Wieland*, the smith. This name, commencing with the letters *w*, *i*, *l*, or *w*, *e*, *l*, means cunning both in the sense of skilfulness and of slyness.

Grimm was the first to point out that the *smithy* of the worker at the forge was called in Germany until a comparatively recent time "*Wieland's Haus*."

Sir Walter Scott, in "Kenilworth," introduces Wayland the Smith as a beneficent mystic. This Wayland obviously derived his name from a mythological prototype. But the fundamental form of this name, the *W*, *i*, *l*, survives in the English language only in an opprobrious sense, in the word "wily," or "wiles," and also in the word "guile." In like manner the Greek τεχνη, though respectably connected with our word "technical" and "technology," was capable of conveying the idea of "artfulness;" whilst the Latin *faber* (derived from *fac-ber*), the fac-totum of artificer's work, gave rise to "fabrication," to show that skill may lead to spurious manufacture, and that the forge of the smith may suggest the impositions of the "forger." These turnings from right-doings to wrong-doings find their corresponding type in the Hebrew word *charash*, the smith. It may be a matter of contention whether the Hebrew word *charash* originally

signified *an artificer*, and meant at a later time *the plough-man;* or whether the agricultural signification preceded the meaning of artificer. But I will, in conclusion, draw attention to a parallel set of words.

The Latin *aro*, "I plough," is enlarged in *arator*, the ploughman, and in *aratrum*, the plough, just as the Hebrew *charash*, "to plough," is reproduced in *choresh*, "the ploughman," and *machareshetb*, "the ploughshare." From *aro*, "I plough," or "I labour," we again have *ars artis*, and if we translate into Hebrew the phrase "a work *of art*," we would say, *maàseh yĕdé charash*, "the handiwork of an artificer." The impostor's *artfulness* would similarly be rendered into Hebrew by the word *charash*. We would say in classical Hebrew, "he contriveth," or "he plougheth up falsehood in his heart." The smith's work and the ploughman's labour meet together in that well-known Biblical passage, which may well have been suggested by the twofold meaning of *charash*, and illustrates peace as supplanting human strife: "They shall strike their swords into ploughshares, and their spears into pruning hooks.

But in the early history of man the regular pursuit of the ploughman came later than the desultory contrivances of the wandering artificer. For this reason it is presumable that the first meaning of *charash* was "to contrive," and that this Hebrew word must be relegated to the more remote period, when the settlements of the husbandman were not yet thought of, and when the folk-lore about *charash* the smith was still in its infancy.

Remarks were added by Dr. S. Louis, Dr. Chotzner, and the President.

Thanks were returned for these communications.

The following is the paper by Mr. Theo. G. Pinches and Mr. E. A. Budge, read at the last meeting, March 4th:—"On an Edict of Nebuchadnezzar I (about B.C. 1150)."

The object from which this translation is made is $25\frac{1}{2}$ inches high, $8\frac{1}{2}$ broad, $6\frac{3}{4}$ thick. It is made of hard white limestone, and is like the so-called "boundary stones" in shape. It was found by Mr. Rassam at Abû-habbah in 1882. It contains two columns of beautifully executed writing, each column containing sixty lines. The inscription covers two sides of the monument, and the third is occupied by the emblems of the gods (or as some think, signs of the Zodiac) commonly found on stones of this class. A representation

of these, together with a copy of the original text, and a transcription into later Babylonian, will be found in the second part of the 5th volume of the Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia.

The following translation was made as far back as last September, but the authors considered that they had no right to forestall the official publication of the British Museum by publishing so large and important a section of volume. As, however, a copy* [the execution of which might be improved] of the text, with a transcription and a German translation, has lately appeared, it has been thought advisable to issue a correct text and a translation.

The text begins with the name, titles, and summary of the conquests of Nebuchadnezzar I. The god Marduk commanded him to set forth on a warlike expedition, and for the fulfilment of this order the pious king set forth from Dēr, "the fortress of Anu," and wasted the country for thirty kasbu (*i.e.*, sixty miles). The time of the year was most unpropitious, for it was sultry June; all wells, fountains, and brooks had dried up, and no water of any sort was to be had. But in spite of these difficulties the warlike king's zeal was unabated; he marched forward sustained by the gods, and none dared to oppose him.

Now a certain Ritti-Marduk, the master of Beth-Karziyabku, held a fortress called Beth-Imitti (*i.e.*, house of my right hand), and he was not a tributary to Nebuchadnezzar. While Nebuchadnezzar was marching and capturing the country far and wide, all the kings of those parts gathered together to oppose him. The text describes their meeting and battle of the allied forces with Nebuchadnezzar under the metaphor of a storm. The dust raised up by their forces darkened the face of the sun, and their attack is compared to the driving on of the hurricane, the meeting of clouds charged with lightning, and the torrents of rain pouring down. The confusion was so great that one man could not recognize another. Ritti-Marduk courageously burnt his fortress to prevent its falling into the hands of the enemy, and came down to take part in the fight against the king of Elam and the other kings hostile to Nebuchadnezzar. Whether his forces were too few, or from whatever cause, like Josiah, he was beaten, and his country made tributary to the king of Elam. Nebuchadnezzar, mindful of his spirited resistance, took his part, and made an expedition against the king of Elam, ravaged it, and took great spoil therefrom.

* Hilprecht, Freibrief Nebuchadnezzar I. 4to. Leipzig, 1883.

When he returned to Akkad he remembered with gratitude and goodwill the services of Ritti-Marduk. The kingdom of Beth-Karziyabku, which had been granted to Ritti-Marduk in days of old by a former king of Babylonia (?), as a province independent of the kingdom of Namar (in which it was situated), had been reduced to submission by the king of Namar. When Nebuchadnezzar discovered this, and found that Beth-Karziyabku had been a free province under the old Babylonian rule, he called the scribe Bêl-tabni-bullit, and in the presence of the chief men of his kingdom and that of Ritti-Marduk, whose names are recorded, he drew up the following deed, re-establishing and confirming the privileges which Ritti-Marduk's ancestors had enjoyed.

It was decreed that no messenger, chief, or governor of Namar should enter Ritti-Marduk's dominions; that no horse, foal, or mare-master should enter therein; that the king of Namar should not exact taxes of oxen and sheep, etc.; and that the plantations and trees should not be cut down.

It was further decreed that the castle of Beth-Samas and the city Ilu-Basa should not be rebuilt; and that a bridge should not be made nor a road opened without the consent of Ritti-Marduk. No men residing in the territory of Beth-Karziyabku, whether they live in town or in country, shall be liable to conscription for the army of the king of Namar, provided only that they be natives of Nipur or Babylon. This is the decree which Nebuchadnezzar made for future days. The usual curses on anyone who shall dare to alter this covenant, or destroy it, are appended.

1. When Marduk the king of the gods sent Nebuchadnezzar the glorious prince
2. the mighty, the offspring of Babylon, the chief of kings
3. the warlike ruler, the governor of Eridu,
4. the sun of his country rejoicing his people,
5. protector of the boundaries, the establisher of the sons [of Babylonia],
6. the king of justice who judges with righteous judgment,
7. the warlike MAN who to make battle increased his army,
8. the bearer of the mighty bow, fearless in battle,.
9. who with his weapons struck down the power of the country of Lullubī,
10. the subduer of Phœnicia, spoiler of the Kassites,

11. the anointer of kings, the prince, the beloved of the god Marduk
12. [*the words "Marduk the king of the gods sent"* (*see line* 1) *form this line in the text*]
13. he sent forth his weapons to revenge Akkad.
14. From Dēr the fortress of the god Anu
15. he made destruction for the distance of thirty *kasbu* (*i.e.*, sixty miles).
16. In the month, the month Tammuz, he took the road.
17. The burning (?) . . . . . blazed like fire,
18. and covering (?) the roads there sprouted forth undergrowth (or jungle)
19. there was no water of any sort, the places thereof were destroyed.
20. The strength of the great horses remained,
21. and the zeal of the warlike hero returned.
22. The mighty king went forward, the gods sustained him,
23. and Nebuchadnezzar marched on, none opposing him.
24. He turned not back from the strength of the field, the wooden growth he cut down.
25. Ritti-Marduk lord of the house of Bit-Karziyabku,
26. who his fortress, Bit-Imitti,
27. (to) the king his lord he did not give up—he burnt his fortress.
28. The strong king marched speedily, he captured as far as the bank of the river Ulā.
29. The kings of every region gathered together, they made battle,
30. (and) among them the fire blazed forth.
31. The face of the sun was darkened by their clouds of dust,
32. the hurricane collected itself, the storm broke.
33. In the storm of their battle
34. a hero, the possessor of a chariot, could not recognize the companion with him.
35. Ritti-Marduk, lord of the house of Bît-Karziyabku,
36. who his fortress, Bît-Imitti,
37. (to) the king his lord he did not give up—he burnt his fortress,
38. he feared not the battle, he { descended / marched } to the enemy,
39. and to the enemies of his lord he came down with fury.
40. By the command of the gods Istar and Rimmon, lords of battle,
41. evil surrounded him, then to the king of Elam his country was subjugated.
42. But King Nebuchadnezzar took his part powerfully;
43. he captured the land of Elam and spoiled its goods.

44. When he returned to Akkad with glory and joy of heart,
45. he looked favourably upon Ritti-Marduk lord of the house of Bit-Karziyabku,
46. who with those hostile and inimical to the king his lord [had contended].
47. As regards all the cities of Bît-Karziyabku, of the land of Namar,
48. which by a former king had been freed, through enemies, against their agreement, had come under the boundaries of Namar
49. Nebuchadnezzar, the king, his lord, restored, and
50. the king pacified the princes, [he gave] the cities their freedom as in days of old.
51. In the whole boundary of the country of Namar, the messengers of the king,
52. and the chief, the governor of Namar, shall not enter the city,
53. no master of the horse, foals, or mares,
54. shall cause to go into the midst of the cities;
55. taxes of oxen and sheep by the king and governor of Namar shall not be taken,
56. a measure (?) or homer of fodder (?) shall not be given,
57. an ass shall not be given to the tax-gatherer,
58. stallion keepers shall not enter the city,
59. stallions shall not be taken among the mares, (and)
60. the fruit of the plantations and the *sakal* tree shall not be cut down.

## Column II.

1. The castle of Bît-Šamaš and of the city Ilu-Bašâ shall not be made,
2. the bridge shall not be made, the road shall not be opened.
3. From the people of Nipur, (and) of Babylon, for the army of the king,
4. as many as dwell in the cities of Bît-Karziyabku,
5. whether in town or whether in country, a seizure of men shall not take place.
6. From the time when the god Tuk (?) spoke to him in the boundary of the country of Namar,
7. Nebuchadnezzar king of multitudes, the cities of Ritti-Marduk,
8. the son of Karziyabku, all the ground of the land of Namar
9. freed for future days, and the multitudes dwelling in those cities

10. he appointed for a compensation to the chief, the governor of Namar,
11. at the freeing of those cities.

Here follows the list of witnesses :—

12. Nazi-Marduk son of Kurkame the *kalu* (*i.e.*, man) of Akkad.
13. Arad-Nanā the son of Damik-Rammānu the recorder of the land.
14. Marduk-kudurri-uṣur the priest of Bel.
15. Ṭûbiyaenna the captain.
16. Ardu-tariṣ-bîti the son of Zabri, the man of the palace gate.
17. Šamaš-nadin-šumi the son of Atta-ilu-ma the governor of the city Isin.
18. Bau-šum-iddina the son of Ḥunna the governor of Babylon.
19. Balaṭsu-Gula son of Arad-Êa the prefect.
20. Marduk-kên-abli son of Ḥimilē the *satam* of the treasure-house.
21. Arad-Gula the son of Kalbi governor of Usti.
22. Ṭâb-asab-Marduk the son of Ê-saggil-zir governor of the land of Ḥalman.
23. Bêl-nadin-šumi the son of Kirban the governor of Namar.
24. and Nebuchadnezzar the prince of Namar are the witnesses.
25. The scribe who wrote this tablet was [called] Bêl-tabnî-bulliṭ. the Gassu.
26. When in future days
27. whoever among the sons of Kirban, or anyone else,
28. shall be appointed to the governorship of the land of Namar,
29. or to the prefectship of the land of Namar, small [and] great all there are [of]
30. the cities of Bît-Karziyabku,
31. which the king in the boundary of the country of Namar has freed,
32. shall not fear the king and his gods, and shall bring [them] back and establish the [old] boundary
33. and shall destroy the written name of god and king, and another shall write,
34. whether a *sakla*, or a *sakka*, or a *sama*, or an evil man,
35. shall instigate, and shall destroy this tablet with stones,
36. (or) with fire shall burn, or in the river shall sink, or shall hide it in a field unseen :
37. that man, may all the great gods, whose names are recorded in heaven and earth,
38. curse him angrily, may God and king mightily afflict him,

39. may Ninip king of heaven and earth, and the goddess Gula, the mighty one of the house of righteousness,
40. destroy his landmark, expel his seed.
41. May Rimmon, the great chief of heaven and earth, lord of water-courses and rain,
42. fill up his rivers with slime.
43. May he establish hunger and want for him, and
44. may oppression, degradation, and evil, by day and by night be bound to him, and
45. may he press down his hand upon the inhabitant[s] of his wretched city.
46. May Sumaliya, lady of the shining mountains,
47. she who dwells on the heights, and walks upon the hill-tops,
48. may Rammānu, Nergal and Nanā, the gods of Namar,
49. may Ṣiru, and Supū the son of the temple of the city of Dêr,
50. may the god Sin, and the lady of Akkad, the gods of the house of Kirban,
51. may the great gods, in strength of heart,
52. for evil destine him, and
53. may another become master of the house which he shall build, [and may he be]
54. a sharp goad in his side, and a running in his eye.
55. May he bow down his face to his conqueror,
56. may he not accept his weeping from him,
57. may he cut off his life speedily;
58. by the destruction of his house may his hands enter the mud,
59. may he [*i.e.*, the conqueror] send afflictions to him as long as his life lasts,
60. and as long as heaven and earth exist may he expel his seed.

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## TEXT AND TRANSLATION.

### Column I.

1. Ê - nu - ma D.P. Nabû - ku - dur - ri - uṣur rubû na - a - du
*When Nebuchadnezzar prince glorious,*

2. na - aṣ - ku ṣi - it Tin - tir - ki e - til šarrāni
*mighty, offspring of Babylon, chief of kings*

3. pa - te - si ḳar - du sakkanaku Eridi
*ruler warlike, governor of Eridu*

4. D.P. Šamaš mâti - su mu - šam - mi - ḥu ni - ši - šu
*the sun of his country, rejoicing his people,*

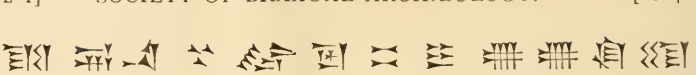
5. na - ṣir ku - dur - ri - ti mu - kin - nu ab - li - e
*protector of boundaries, establisher of sons*

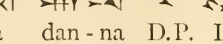
6. šar ki - na - a - ti ša di - in mi - ša - ri i - din - nu
*king of justice who judgment righteous judges*

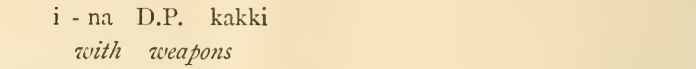
7. zi - ik - ru ḳar - du ša a - na e - piš taḫazi kit - bu - da
*man warlike who to make battle increased*

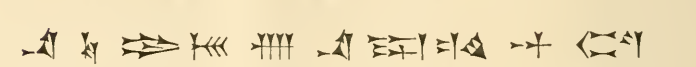
e - mu - ḳa - šu
*his army*

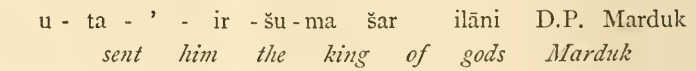
8. na - aš D.P. midpanu êz - zi - ti la a - di - ru taḫazu
*bearer of the bow mighty not fearing battle*

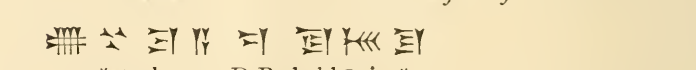
9. 
ša dan-na D.P. Lul-lu-bi-i u-šam-ki-tu
*who the strength of Lullubi struck down*

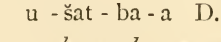

i-na D.P. kakki
*with weapons*

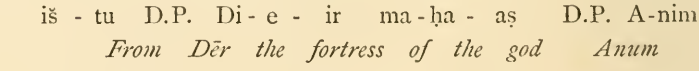
10. 
ka-šid D.P. A-ḫar-ri-i ša-li-lu Kaš-ši-i
*the subduer of Phœnicia spoiler of the Kaššī*

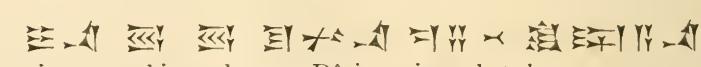
11. 
na-sik šarrāni rubû na-ra-am D.P. Marduk
*anointer of kings prince beloved of Marduk*

12. 
u-ta-'-ir-šu-ma šar ilāni D.P. Marduk
*sent him the king of gods Marduk*

13. 
a-na tur-ri gi-mil-li D.P. Akkad
*to return the benefit of Akkad*


u-šat-ba-a D.P. kakkāni-šu
*he made come his weapons.*

14. 
iš-tu D.P. Di-e-ir ma-ḫa-aṣ D.P. A-nim
*From Dēr the fortress of the god Anum*

15. 
ši-iḫ-da iš-ta-ka-an a-na šelašâ kas-bu
*destruction he made for* 30 kasbu

16. 
i-na arḫi araḫ Dûzi iṣ-ṣa-bat ḫar-ra-a-na
*In the month, the month Tammuz, he took the road*

17. ta - kal - . . . ak ku - ul - lu i - kab - ba - bu
*the* . . . . . *burning* (?) *blazed*

ki - i i - sa - ti
*like* *fire*

18. u tu sa kir - ri - e - ti i - ḥa - am - ma- ṭu
*and* . . . . . *the roads* *sprouted forth*

ki nap- li
*undergrowth*

19. ya - ' - nu mē saḥ - ḥi u bu - ut - tu - ku
*there was not water of springs, and were destroyed*

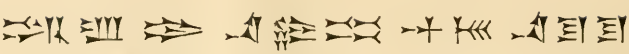
maš - ḳu - u
*watering places*

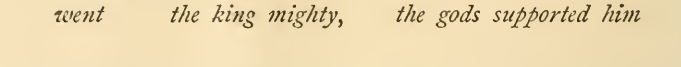
20. ni - iṣ - ḳu ša rabûti sisê
*strength* *of* *great* *horses*

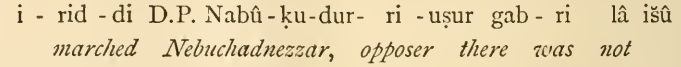
da - ta - ši - is - su
*remained*

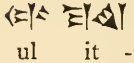
21. u ša it - lu ḳar - di bu - ri - da - šu
*and* *of* *the hero* *warlike* *his zeal*

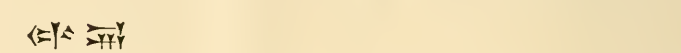
it - tu - ra
*returned*

22. 
il - lik sarru na - aṣ - ku ilāni na - šu - šu
*went the king mighty, the gods supported him*

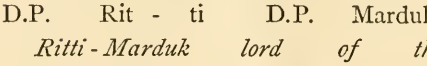
23. 
i - rid - di D.P. Nabû - ḳu - dur - ri - uṣur gab - ri lâ išû
*marched Nebuchadnezzar, opposer there was not*

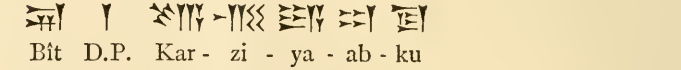
24. 
ul it - tur dan - na - at êḳli iš - ka - ra - a - ti
*not he turned back from the strength of the field wooden growth*

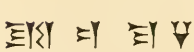

ul - lib
*he cut down*

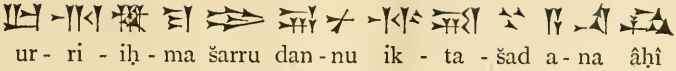
25. 
D.P. Rit - ti D.P. Marduk Bêl Bît ša
*Ritti - Marduk lord of the house of*

Bît D.P. Kar - zi - ya - ab - ku
*Bît - Karzi - yabku*

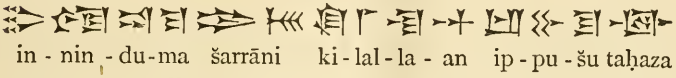
26. 
sa D.P. ma - ša - ra - šu Bît I - mit - ti
*who fortress his Bît-Imitti*

27. 
šarru bêli - šu la im - mir - ku - ma ma - sa - ra - šu
(*to*) *the king his lord had not given up, his fortress*

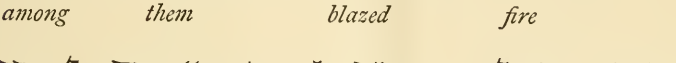

uḳ - til - la
*burnt*

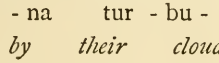
28. 
ur - ri - iḫ - ma šarru dan - nu ik - ta - šad a - na âḫî
*speedily marched king mighty he captured as far as the bank of*

nâr U - la - a
*the river Ulâ*

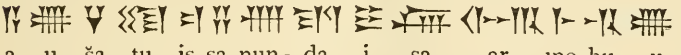
29. 
in - nin - du - ma šarrāni ki - lal - la - an ip - pu - šu taḫaza
*gathered together kings of every region they made battle*

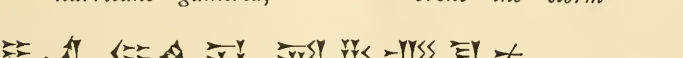
30.
i - na bi - ri - šu - nu in - na - pi - iḫ i - ša - tu
*among them blazed fire*

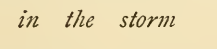
31. 
i - na tur - bu - ' - ti - šu - nu na - ' - du - ru
*by their clouds of dust darkened was*


pân D.P. šam - ši
*face of the sun*

32.
a - u - ša - tu iṣ - ṣa - nun - da i - sa - ar me - ḫu - u
*hurricane gathered, broke the storm*

33. 
i - na mi - ḫi - e ta - ḫa - zi - su - nu
*in the storm of their battle*

34. 
it - lu bêl D.P. narkabti ul ip - pal - la - sa
*a hero possessor of a chariot not recognized*


ša - na - a ša it - ti - šu
*another with him.*

35. D.P. Rit - ti D.P. Marduk bel Bît ša
*Ritti - Marduk lord of house of*

Bît D.P. Kar - zi - ya - ab - ku
*Bît - Karzi - yabku*

36. sa D.P. ma - sa - ma - ra - su Bît I - mit - ti
*who fortress his Bit - Imitti*

37. sarri bêli - šu la - im - mir - ku - ma D.P. ma - ša - ra - šu
(*to*) *the king lord his host given up had, fortress his*

uk - til - la
*burnt*

38. la i - dur - ma taḫazu it - ta - rad a - na D.P. nakiri
*not feared he the battle, he came down to the enemy*

39. u a - na nakiri beli - su i - te - ru - ub a - kut - ta
*and to enemies of lord his he came down with fury.*

40. i - na pî D.P. Iš - tar u D.P. Rammānu ilāni
*By command of Istar and Rammanu gods*

bêli - taḫazi
*lords of battle*

41. ul - te - is - ḥi - ir limut - te lû ana šarri
*surrounded him evil then to the king of*

mât Elamti D.S. i - te - ziz mâti - šu
*Elam his country was subjugated*

42. û šarru D.P. Nabû - ku - dur - ri - uṣur it - ta - ši - iz
*and King Nebuchadnezzar joined him*

i - na li - ti
*with might*

43. is - ṣa - bat mat Elamti D.S. i - iš - ta - lal ša - ga - ša
*he captured Elam, he spoiled its goods.*

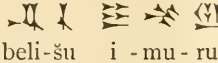
44. ultu i - na li - ti ḥu - ud lib - bi a - na mat Akkadi
*When with glory joy of heart to Akkad*

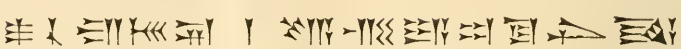
i - tu - ra
*he returned*

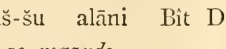
45. D.P. Rit - ti D.P. Marduk bel Bît ša
*Ritti - Marduk lord of the house of*

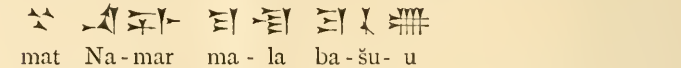
Bît D.P. Kar - zi - ya - ab - ku
*Bît - Karzi - yabku*

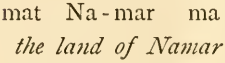
46.
ša i-na nakr- u - ti u mun-taḥ - ṣu - ti sarri
*who with hostility and battle to the king*

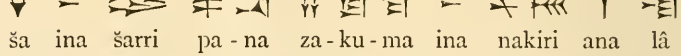

beli-šu i -mu-ru-šu-ma
*his lord looked upon him and*

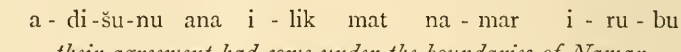
47. 
aš-šu alāni Bît D.P. Kar- zi - ya-ab-ku kak - kar
*as regards the cities of Bît-Karziyabku*

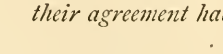

mat Na-mar ma - la ba-šu- u
*the land of Namar all there was*

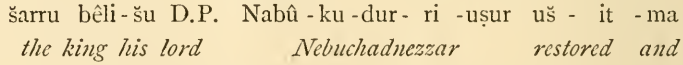
48. 
ša ina šarri pa-na za-ku-ma ina nakiri ana lâ
*which by a king former had been freed through enemies against*


a - di-šu-nu ana i - lik mat na - mar i - ru - bu
*their agreement had come under the boundaries of Namar*

49. 
šarru bêli-šu D.P. Nabû - ku -dur- ri -uṣur uš - it -ma
*the king his lord Nebuchadnezzar restored and*

50. 
šarru massē i -šal-ma ki i - na la - bi - ri
*the king the princes pacified as in old time*


alāni za-ku- tu -šu-nu
*the cities their freedom [he gave].*

51. 
i -na i - lik mat Na - mar gab - bi šu - kal- li - e šarri
*In the boundary of Namar all, messengers of the king*

52. u ša - laṭ mât Na - mar D.P. êzzu a - na
*and chief of Namar the governor*

ali lâ e - ri - bi
*the city shall not enter*

53. D.P. rab u - ri - e u - ra - a u
*master of horse foals and*

sisêti
*mares*

54. a - na lib - bi alāni lâ šû - ru - bi
*to the midst of the cities shall not make enter*

55. ṣibti rîmi û ṣi - e - ni ša šarri u
*taxes of oxen and sheep of the king and*

ša - laṭ Na - mar lâ ṣa - ba - ti
*governor of Namar shall not be taken*

56. bu - lu - ug u îmēri rig - li lâ na - da - ni
*a division* (?) *and a homer of fodder* (?) *shall not be given*

57. îmiru a - na D.P. ma - ki - si lâ na - da - ni
*an ass to the* makisi *shall not be given*

58. amēlu ša bat-ḥal - li a - na alāni lâ e - ri - e - bi
*keeper of stallions the cities shall not enter*

59. u i - na libbi D.P. sisēti bat - ḥal - la
*and among the mares stallions*

lâ ṣa - ba - ti
*shall not be taken*

60. [?] ma - ak - kal - ti D.P. kirêti u D.P. ŠA - KAL - MES
*fruit (?) of plantations and* sakal *trees*

lâ na - ka - si
*shall not be cut.*

## COLUMN II.

1. Dûr ša ali Bît - D.P. Šamaš u ša ali ša Ilu - ba - ša
*The castle of Beth-Samas and of the city of Ilu-basa*

lâ e - pi - ši
*shall not be made*

2. ti - tur - ra lâ e - pi - ši ḥarrana lâ a - ma - a - ri
*a bridge shall not be made a road shall not be opened*

3. ummanāti ali Nipur - u alu Tin - tir - u
*The people of Nipur [and] Babylon*

u - lu umman šarri
*for the army of the king*

4. ma-la i-na alani ša Bît-D.P. Kar- zi-ya-ab-ku aš-bu
*all in the cities of Bit-Karziyabku*

5. i-na alu u ṣeri ṣa-bat amēli lâ ša-ka-na
*in the city or the country seizure of men shall not take place.*

6. ultu i-na i-lik mât Na-mar AN TUK i-kab-bi-šu
*From when in the boundary of Namar the god Tuk (?) commanded him*

7. D.P. Nabû-ku-dur-ri-uṣur šar kiššati alāni sa
*Nebuchadnezzar king of multitudes, the cities of*

D.P. Rit-ti D.P. Marduk
*Ritti-Marduk*

8. mâr D.P. Kar- zi-ya-ab-ku kak-kar mât Na-mar
*son of Karziyabku ground of the country Namar*

ma-la ba-šu-u
*all there was*

9. a-na um-um ṣa-ti u-zak-ki u ummanāti a-šib
*to a day future freed, and the multitudes dwelling*

alāni šu-a-tum
*in these cities*

10. a-na at-ri ha-ma-at ša ša-laṭ Na-mar u
*for a fee compensatory to the chief of Namar and*

D.P. êzzu u-kin-šu-nu-ti
*the governor appointed them*

11. i-na za-ku-ut alāni šu-a-tum
*at the freeing of those cities*

12. D.P. Na-zi D.P. Marduk mâr D.P. Kur-ka-me ka-lu
*Nazi-Marduk son of Kurkame the* kalu

mat Akkadi
*of Akkad*

13. D.P. Arad D.P. Na-na-a mâr D.P. Damik D.P. Rammānu
*Arad-Nanâ son of Damik-Rammānu*

amelu ša ṭe-mi mâti
*the recorder of the land*

14. D.P. D.P. Marduk-ku-dur-ri-uṣur D.P. Sangu Bel
*Marduk-kudur-uṣur the priest of Bel*

15. D.P. Ṭu-bi-ya-en-na D.P. saku
*Tubiyaenna the captain*

16. D.P. Ardu(?)-tar-iṣ-bîti mâr D.P. Za-ab-ri amēlu ša bâb-ekalli
*Ardu-tariṣ-biti son of Zâbri the man of the palace gate*

17. D.P. D.P. Šamaš-nadin-šumi mâr D.P. At-ta-ilu-ma
*Šamaš-nadin-šumi* *son of Atta-ilu-ma*

ša-laṭ al I-ši-in
*governor of Išin*

18. D.P. D.P. Ba-u-šum-iddi-na mâr D.P. Ḥu-un-na ša-laṭ
*Bau-šum-iddina* *son of Ḥunna governor*

Tin-tir-ki
*of Babylon*

19. D.P. Balaṭ-šu D.P. Gu-la mâr D.P. Arad D.P. E-a
*Balaṭsu-Gula* *son of Arad-Ea*

bêl piḥâti
*the prefect*

20. D.P. D.P. Marduk-kên-abli mâr D.P. Ḥi-mi-li-e
*Marduk-kên-abli* *son of Ḥimilie*

ša-tam bît u-na-ti
*the* satam *of the treasury*

21. D.P. Arad D.P. Gu-la mâr D.P. Kal-bi ša mât Uš-ti
*Arad-gula* *son of Kalbi* (*governor*) *of Ušti*

22. D.P. Ṭa - ab - a - sab D.P. Marduk mâr
*Tab - ašab - Marduk* *son of*

D.P. E - šag - gil - zir ša mât Ḥal - man
*E - šaggil - zir* (*governor*) *of Ḥalman*

23. D.P. D.P. Bêl - nadin - šumi mâr D.P. Kir - ban ša - laṭ
*Bêl - nadin - šumi* *son of Kirban the governor*

mat Na - mar
*of Namar*

24. u D.P. D.P. Nabû - ku - dur - ri - uṣur D.P. èzzu
*and* *Nebuchadnezzar* *the prince of*

mât Na - mar manzazut - su
*Namar* [*are*] *the witnesses*

25. dup - sar ša - ṭi - ir D.P. Na - ra - a an - ni - i
*The scribe writer* *of this tablet* [*was*]

D.P. D.P. Bêl - tab - nî - bu - ul - liṭ D.P. gassu
*Bêl - tabnî - bulliṭ* *the* gassu

26. ma - ti - ma a - na ar - kat umē
*When* *for* *future* *days*

27. lu - u i - na mârāni D.P. Kir-ban lu - u ma-am-ma
*whoever among the sons of Kirban or whether*

ša - nu - um - ma
*anyone else*

28. ša a - na ša - laṭ - u - ti ša mât Na - mar iš - šak - ki - nu
*who to the governorship of Namar shall be appointed*

29. lu - u ki - pu-ut mât Na - mar ultu ṣi - ḥir ra - bi
*or to the prefectship of Namar, from small [to] great*

ma - la ba - šu - u
*all there are*

30. alāni sa Bît D.P. Kar - zi - ya - ab - ku
*the cities of Bît-Karziyabku*

31. ša šarri i - na i - lik mât Na - mar u - zak - ku - u
*which the king in the boundary of Namar has freed*

32. šarru u ilāni - šu lâ ip - tal - ḥu - ma ut - te - ru - ma
*the king and his gods shall not fear and shall bring back and*

il - ka il - tak - nu
*establish the [old] boundary*

33. u šu - um ili u šarri ša šaṭ - ru
*and the name of god and king written*

up - taš - ši - ṭu - ma ša - nam il - ta - aṭ - ru
*shall destroy and another shall write*

34. lu - u šak - la lu - u šak - ka lu - u sa - ma - a
*whether a* sakla *or a* sakka *or a* sama

lu - u lim - nu amēlu
*or an evil man*

35. u - ma - ʻ - a - ru - ma D.P. Na - ra - a an - na - a ina
*shall direct and tablet this with a stone*

âbni i - naḳ - ḳa - ru
*shall destroy*

36. išati u - sak - lu a - na nâri i - na - su - šu ina êḳli
(*with*) *fire shall burn in the shall sink in a field*

la a - ma - ri i - tam - mi - ru
*unseen shall bury*

37. amelu ša - a - šu ilāni rabûti ma - la i - na šamê
*that man, the great gods as many as in heaven*

u êrṣiti šum - šu - nu zak - ru
*and earth heir names are mentioned*

38. ag - gis li -ru - ru - šu ilu u šarru ez- zi - iš
*angrily may they curse him, god and king mightily*

lik - kil - mu - šu
*may they afflict him*

39. D.P. Nin - ip šar samê u êrṣiti u D.P. Gu - la
*Ninip king of heaven and earth and Gula*

dan - nat ê - sar - ra
*the mighty lady of the house of righteousness*

40. li -bu- tu ku-dur- ra -šu li -ḥal- li - ku zîr - šu
*may they destroy his landmark, may they expel his seed*

41. D.P. Rammānu ašaridu šamê u êrṣiti bêl nak - bi
*Rammanu the chief of heaven and earth, lord of water courses*

u zu - un - ni
*and rain*

42. nârāti - šu li - mil - la - a sa - ki - ki
*his rivers may he fill with mud*

43. bu -bu - ta u ḥu - ša - aḥ - ḥa liš - kun - šu - um - ma
*hunger and want may he establish for him and*

44. lu-ub-nu ma-ku-u u li -mi-nu ur - ra u mu-ša
*oppression, degradation and evil, day and night*

lu - u - ra - ki -is it - ti -šu
*may be bound to him*

45. a - na a -šib ali - šu ma- ki - i ḳat - su lim- gu - ug
*upon the dweller wretched in his city his hand may he press down*

46. D.P. Šu - ma - li - ya bê - lit šadâni el - lu - ti
*Šumaliya lady of mountains lofty*

47. a - ši -bat ri -še- e - ti ka - bi - sa - at gup-pa - a- ti
*dweller in hills (heads) the treader upon high places*

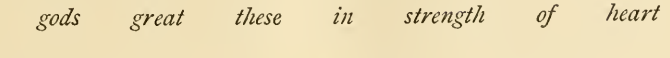
48. D.P. Rammānu D.P. Nergal u D.P. Na - na - a ilāni
*Rammanu Nergal Nana gods*

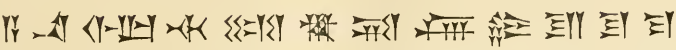
ša mât Na - mar
*of the land of Namar*

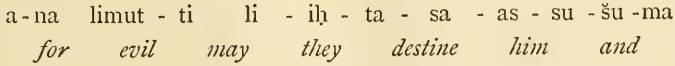
49. D.P. Ṣir D.P. Šu - pu - u mâr bît ša al Di - e - ir
*the god Ṣir, the god Šupu son of the temple of the city of Dēr*

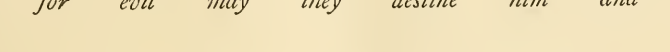
50. D.P. Sin u bêlit al Ak - ka - di ilāni ša
*the god Sin and the lady of Akkad, the gods of the*

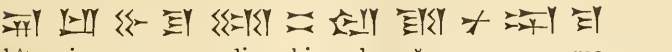
Bît D.P. Kir ba - an
*house of Kirban*

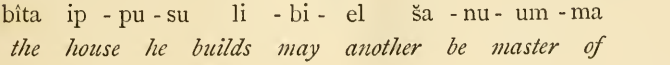
51. 
ilâni rabûti an-nu-tu i-na uz-za-at lib-bi
*gods great these in strength of heart*

52. 
a-na limut-ti li-iḫ-ta-sa-as-su-šu-ma
*for evil may they destine him and*

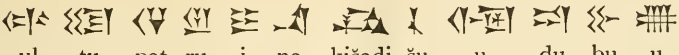
53. 
bîta ip-pu-su li-bi-el ša-nu-um-ma
*the house he builds may another be master of*

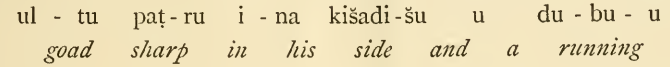
54. 
ul-tu paṭ-ru i-na kišadi-šu u du-bu-u
*goad sharp in his side and a running*


ina i-ni-su
*in his eye*

55. 
a-na sa-bi-ta-ni-šu ap-pa-šu lil-bi-im-ma
*to his conqueror his face may he bow down*

56. 
un-ni-ni-šu a-a-im-ḫu-ur-šu
*his weeping not may he accept from him*

57. 
ha-an-ṭi-iš lik-ki-sa na-ap-šat-su
*speedily may he cut off his life*

58. 
i-na ḫi-pi-e bîti-šu katâ-šu ṭi-ṭa li-ru-ba
*in the destruction of his house his hands the mud may they enter*

59. a-di um-um bal-ṭu ma-ru-uš-ta li-iš-du-ud
*as long as he lives affliction may he send*

60. u a-di šamê u êrsiti ba-šu-u
*and as long as heaven and earth exist*

zîr-šu li-iḫ-liḳ
*his seed may he destroy.*

The following communication has been received from Dr. Birch, in continuation. Both the Coffin, and Mummy to which this Hypocephalus belonged, are in the British Museum:—

The Hypocephalus of Harnetatf, No. 8446, has a black background, with the inscriptions and scenes painted in yellow. In the upper division is the boat of the Sun going to the right, the boat-head in the shape of a housing, on which is seated Harpakhrat or Harpocrates. The first figure in the boat is the god Thoth, standing, ibis-headed, and wearing the head-dress *atf*, holding a pallet in his right hand; he is called *neb smen*, "lord of Esmun," or Hermopolis; behind him stands *Ma*, the goddess of Truth, wearing a feather on her head, with her name ; behind is a lion-headed goddess, *Sekhet*, followed by the ram-headed god wearing a disk called *Af*, over which passes the large snake. He is followed by a male deity wearing a feather, a form of Shu, but the name is too indistinct to make out with certainty, perhaps it is ; then follows a lion-headed goddess wearing a pschent, perhaps , Bast; all are standing, and the boat is represented

W. H. Rylands del.

HYPOCEPHALU

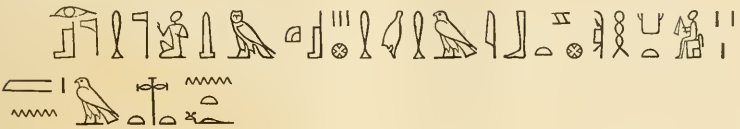
IN THE BRITIS

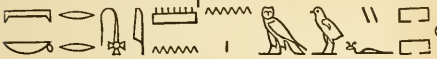
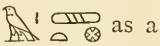
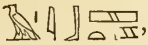
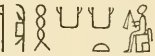
Proceedings Soc. Bibl. Arch. April 1884.

OM SALT. COLL.
SEUM Nº 8446.

Vincent Brooks Day & Son Ln

on a pedestal. Beneath is a horizontal line of hieroglyphs, reading from the right :—



*Uasar hont neter Amen em apt hent . . . . hent Har Ab s'es hek tu ma Her net atef.* "The Osirian high priest of Ammon, in Southern Thebes, the hierodule of Neben, hierodule of Har of Abth, follower of the magi Harnetatf." The word after hierodule of Horus is difficult to read. It is apparently *Ab* or *Abta*, the name of some place of which Horus was lord, perhaps in the region of Hermopolis. (Brugsch, "Dict. Geogr.," p. 18.) On the coffin of this person, No. 6678, Harnetatf is also said to be priest of Khonsu and Isis, and priest of , Amsi, or Khem, the Ammon Horus, and  *hr krr Amen n u m ui f ra*, "superintendent of the holocausts of Amen nenunf" (the two houses of Amen), probably a part of Thebes. He is also styled priest of the saviour god and the two brethren gods, which looks like a Ptolemaic title. The inside of the coffin gives also  as a variant of  , which seems to connect it with the name of the city of Eileithyia. The phrase is also  *neter nefer she hqqt*, "good god followers of the enchanters," which connects it with the god rather than the priest; and there is also the phrase *mersen*, "brother loving," apparently a Ptolemaic expression.

Beneath this portion is the second division, with the four-headed ram god Amen, with two bodies, holding two sceptres, adored by two standing and two seated apes, and the words , "adoration, adoration," four times. In the exergue is the cow of chapter 162 of the "Ritual," having two genii of the Hades before and two behind, an altar in front, and some illegible hieroglyphs before and behind, and on each side a line of hieroglyphs *Uasar χent Amenti neter aa*, "Osiris, lord of the west, great god."

The inscription round the border reads :—

*Uasar at neter Amen-m-apt neter hon ses qaqt hon Neben hon Har hon neter Ast t'amut hon neter Amsi hon neter Khonsu Tahuti hon neter Har net atef ma χru sa neter at Amen em-apt hon Neben hon Har Nekktharhebi ma χru mes neb ta aha Amen Taneferhetp maχru Amen ra hru . . . set.*

"The Osirian divine father of Amon in Apt (Southern Thebes), prophet of the good servant of the spirits, servant of Neben, servant of Horus, prophet of Isis of Gemé, prophet of Amsi (Khem), prophet of Khons Tahuti (Thoth), prophet of Horus, Harnetatf justified, son of the divine father of Amon in Apt (Southern Thebes), prophet of Neben Nekhtherheb justified, son of the lady of the house, sistrum player of Amon Tatneferhotep justified, Amen Ra in the midst of them."

The mummy to which this belonged is No. 6678, and the coffin No. 6679, and the inscription is partly restored from a comparison of their texts. For the region ⊗ *Tsamat*, the Greek Pakemis, and the Coptic Gemé or Djeme, *see* Brugsch, "Dict. Geogr.," p. 989; and the form *qqi*, with the Egyptian explanation that the feather on the head of the crocodile means Osiris, and the crocodile itself Typhon. The phrase at the end possibly begins the sentence referring to Amon protecting.

The hieroglyph read *hn* occurs as *hr*, 'slave,' "as his majesty, gave the captives to me for slaves." (Champollion, *Not. descr.*, p. 656.) When

placed before the name of a deity it means slave or hierodoulos of a particular god, as slave of Horus, found however also in the sense of 'majesty' or 'person' of Horus. It is also occasionally found after the name of the god, as 'hierodoulos of Neith.' The form is probably 'Hierodoulos of Neben; it is perhaps a variant of hierodoulos of Bast and Hut' or Neben (Mariette, *Mon. div.*, pl. 63*d*), apparently being a variant of *hut'*, the white crown which was the emblem of Neben, as the lower or red crown was of Neith. The title also appears distinct on coffin 6676 of the British Museum; sometimes preceded by the title hierodoulos of Bast, and instead of . There was also a hierodoulos of the *qa* or 'double' (Mariette, *Mon. div.*, 64, 9); and the hierodouloi had at least three classes, as one is styled 'head' or 'chief hierodoulos of the third rank.' (Mariette, *Mon. div.*, pl. 47, 6.) From the name Nekhtherheb it is evidently about B.C. 340.

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The next Meeting of the Society will be held at 9, Conduit Street, Hanover Square, W., on Tuesday, May 6th, 1884, at 8 p.m., when the following papers will be read :—

By Theo. G. Pinches and E. A. Budge :—"New Texts in the Babylonian Character. Referring principally to the Restoration of Temples."

## THE FOLLOWING BOOKS ARE REQUIRED FOR THE LIBRARY OF THE SOCIETY.

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Botta, Monuments de Ninive. 5 vols., folio. 1847–1850.
Place, Ninive et l'Assyrie, 1866–1869. 3 vols., folio.
Brugsch-Bey, Grammaire Démotique. 1 vol., folio.
——————— Geographische Inschriften Altaegyptische Denkmaeler. Vols. I—III (Brugsch).
——————— Recueil de Monuments Égyptiens, copiés sur lieux et publiés par H. Brugsch et J. Dümichen. (4 vols., and the text by Dümichen of vols. 3 and 4.)
Dümichen, Historische Inschriften, &c., 1st series, 1867.
——————————————— 2nd series, 1869.
————— Altaegyptische Kalender-Inschriften, 1866.
——————————— Tempel-Inschriften, 1862. 2 vols., folio.
Golenischeff, Die Metternichstele. Folio, 1877.
Lepsius, Nubian Grammar, &c., 1880.
De Rougé, Études Égyptologiques. 13 vols., complete to 1880.
Wright, Arabic Grammar and Chrestomathy.
Schroeder, Die Phönizische Sprache.
Haupt, Die Sumerischen Familiengesetze.
Schrader, Die Keilinschriften und das Alte Testament. 1872.
Rawlinson, Canon, 6th and 7th Ancient Monarchies.
——————————— History of Egypt. 2 vols. 1882.
Osburn, The Antiquities of Egypt. 8vo., 1841.
Robinson, Biblical Researches. 8vo., 1841.
Pierret, Dictionnaire d'Archéologie Égyptienne. 8vo. Paris, 1875.
Burkhardt, Eastern Travels.
Wilkinson, Materia Hieroglyphica. Malta, 1824–30. (*Text only.*)
Chabas, Mélanges Égyptologiques. Séries I, II, III. 1862–1873.
——— Le Papyrus Magique Harris. 4to. 1861.
——— Voyage d'un Egyptien en Syrie, en Phénicie, &c. 4to. 1867.
——— Le Calendrier des Jours Fastes et Néfastes de l'année Égyptienne. 8vo. 1877.
Maspero, Du genre épistolaire chez les Égyptiens de l'époque Phraonique. 8vo. Paris, 1872.
——— De Carchemis oppidi Situ et Historia Antiquissimâ. 8vo. Paris, 1872.

# NOTICE.

The Library and Offices of the Society will be closed for vacation from the 23rd of July to the end of August.

# *PROCEEDINGS*

OF

# THE SOCIETY

OF

# BIBLICAL ARCHÆOLOGY.

## FOURTEENTH SESSION, 1883-84.

*Seventh Meeting, 6th May,* 1884.

REV. HENRY GEORGE TOMKINS,

IN THE CHAIR.

The following Presents were announced, and thanks ordered to be returned to the Donors:—

From the Royal Geographical Society:—Proceedings and Monthly Record of Geography. Vol. VI. Nos. 4 and 5. April and May, 1884. 8vo. London.

From the Royal Asiatic Society:—The Journal of Great Britain and Ireland. Vol. XVI. Part 2, April, 1884. 8vo.

From the Royal Institute of British Architects:—Proceedings. Session 1883-84. Nos. 11 and 12. 4to. London.

From the Palestine Exploration Fund:—The Quarterly Statement. April, 1884. 8vo. London.

From the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres:—Comptes Rendus des Séances de l'année 1883. Quatrième série. Tome XI. Bulletin d'Octobre-Novembre-Décembre. 8vo. Paris. 1884.

From the Editor:—The American Antiquarian and Oriental Journal. Edited by Rev. Stephen D. Peet. Vol. VI. No. 2. 8vo. Chicago. March, 1884.

From the Author:—L'Orient, or a Journal of my Tour in the East. March 1st–June 30th, 1882. By the Rev. F. A. Walker, B.D., F.L.S., &c. 8vo. London. 1882.

From the Author:—Ishtar and Izdubar, the Epic of Babylon; or The Babylonian Goddess of Love and the Hero and Warrior King; constructed from Translations of the great Accadian Epic and the Legends of Assyria and Babylon, found in Cuneiform Inscriptions on Tablets lately discovered on the site of the Ruins of Nineveh, and now deposited in the British Museum. Restored in modern verse. By Leonidas le Cenci Hamilton, M.A. Vol. I. Illustrated. London. 1884.

From the Author:—Winckelmann's Urtheil über die ägyptische Kunst und die Profankunst der alten Aegypter von Alfred Wiedemann. 8vo. Bonn. 1884.

Separat-Abdruck aus den Jahrbüchern des Vereins von Alterthumsfreunden im Rheinlande. LXXVII.

From His Grace the Duke of Northumberland:—Catalogue of the Collection of Egyptian Antiquities at Alnwick Castle. By S. Birch, D.C.L., LL.D., F.S.A., &c. Printed for private distribution. 4to. London. 1880.

From R. Dukinfield Darbishire:—Old Northern Runic Monuments of Scandinavia and England, now first collected and deciphered by George Stephens, Esq., F.S.A. Vol. I. Folio. London. 1866–67. Vol. II. 1867–68. Vol. III. 1884.

From R. Dukinfield Darbishire:—Crania Britannica: Delineations and Descriptions of the Skulls of the Aboriginal and Early Inhabitants of the British Islands, with notices of their other Remains. By Joseph Barnard Davis, M.D., F.S.A., and John Thurnam, M.D., F.S.A. 2 vols. Text and plates. Folio. London. 1865.

From R. Dukinfield Darbishire:—Thian Ti Hwui. The Hung League, or Heaven and Earth Society, a Secret Society with the Chinese in China and India. By Gustave Schlegel. 4to. Batavia. 1866.

From R. Dukinfield Darbishire:—Traduction comparée des Hymnes au Soleil, composant le XV chapitre du Rituel Funéraire Égyptien. Par Eugène Lefebure. 4to. Paris. 1868.

From F. Ll. Griffith :—Family Classical Library. 8vo :—

Xenophon : Anabasis, Cyropædia. 2 vols.
Tacitus. 5 vols.
Herodotus. 3 vols.

Cabinet Cyclopædia. 8vo. :—

History of the Christian Church. By Rev. H. Stebbing, A.M. 2 vols.
Arts of the Greeks and Romans. 2 vols.
Rome. 2 vols.
Maritime and Inland Discovery. 3 vols.
Chronology of History. By Sir Harris Nicolas. 1 vol.
Outlines of History. 1 vol.

Non-Christian Religious Systems, including the following: Buddhism, Hinduism, Islam, the Corân, Confucianism, and Taouism. 8vo. 5 vols.

Pilgrimage to El Medinah and Meccah. By R. F. Burton. 2 vols. 8vo. London. 1857.

Lord's Prayer in One Hundred Languages. 8vo. 1 vol.

Right Use of the Fathers. J. Daillé. 8vo. 1 vol.

Pilgrimage to Medinah and Meccah. By R. F. Burton. Third Edition. 8vo. 1879.

The Koran. By Geo. Sale. 2 vols. 8vo. 1801.

Conflict between Religion and Science. By J. W. Draper 1 vol. 8vo. 1875.

Pantographia. By E. Fry. 8vo. 1 vol.

Prophetae Majores. By Henricus Tattam. 2 vols. 8vo. 1852.

Prophetarum Minorum. By H. Tattam. 1 vol. 8vo. 1836.

The Mishna. By Sola and Raphall. 1 vol. 8vo. 1843.

Bampton Lectures. By Conybeare. 1 vol. 1839.

Ancient Christianity. By Isaac Taylor. 2 vols. 8vo. 1844.

The Variations of Popery. By Samuel Edgar. 1 vol. 8vo. 1838.

Oriental Geography. By Sir W. Ouseley, LL.D. 1 vol. 4to. 1800.

Catalogus Codicum Copticorum. Geo. Zoega. 1 vol. Folio. 1810.

Le Papyrus Magique Harris. Chabas. 4to. 1860.

An Essay on Assyriology. By George Evans, M.A., Hibbert Fellow.

Published by the Hibbert Trustees. 8vo. London. 1883.

A Grammar of the Hebrew Language. By the Rev. S. Lee, B.D., &c. Second edition, much enlarged. 8vo. London. 1832.

A Compendious Grammar of the Egyptian Language. By the Rev. Henry Tattam, M.A., &c. 8vo. London. 1830.

An Elementary Grammar of the Assyrian Language. By the Rev. A. H. Sayce. Second edition. London: Bagster.

Catalogue of the Egyptian Antiquities in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford. By Greville J. Chester, B.A., Oxon. 8vo. Oxford. 1881.

Uarda: a Romance of Ancient Egypt. By George Ebers From the German, by Clara Bell. 2 vols. 8vo. Leipzig: Tauchnitz. 1877.

Twelve Odes of Hafiz, done literally into English. By W. H. Lowe, M.A. 8vo. 1877.

Special votes of thanks were awarded to His Grace the Duke of Northumberland, R. D. Darbishire, Esq., and F. Ll. Griffith, Esq., for their donations to the Library.

The following have been purchased by the Council for the Library of the Society:—

The Monuments of Ancient Egypt, and their Relation to the Word of God. By Philip Henry Gosse. 8vo. London. 1847.

The Bedouin Tribes of the Euphrates. By Lady Anne Blunt. 2 vols. 8vo. London. 1879.

A Pilgrimage to Nejd, the Cradle of the Arab Race. By Lady Anne Blunt. 2 vols. 8vo. London. 1881.

Ismailïa. By Sir Samuel W. Baker-Pacha, &c., &c. 2 vols. 8vo. London. 1874.

The following were elected Members of the Society, having been nominated on April 1st, 1884:—

Principal John Cairns, D.D., United Presbyterian College, Edinburgh.

Dr. G. Lansing, The American Mission, Cairo.

J. D. Moody, Mendota, Illinois, U.S.A.

Dillwyn Parish, Widmore, Bromley, Kent.

J. G. E. Sibbald, The Admiralty, Spring Gardens.

The following were nominated for election, and this being the last meeting of the Session, were, by special order of the Council, submitted for election, and elected Members of the Society :—

Rev. Louis Henri Antoine Bähler, Groningen, Holland.
J. Carmichael-Ferrall, Angher Castle, Angher, co. Tyrone.
W. H. Kirberger, Rokin 134, Amsterdam.
C. F. W. Faunce de Laune, Sharsted Court, Sittingbourne, Kent.
George A. Macmillan, 19, Earl's Terrace, Kensington, W.
Professor John Phelps Taylor, Andover, Mass., U.S.A.
Rev. Francis Augustus Walker, D.D., 33, Bassett Road, Notting Hill, W.

A Paper was read by Mr. Theo. G. Pinches and Mr. Ernest A. Budge on "Some New Texts in the Babylonian Character, relating principally to the Restoration of Temples."

The inscriptions which formed the subject of this paper are copied from objects—cylinders, etc.—recently brought to England from Babylonia. They possess points of remarkable interest, and refer principally to temples. From first to last they extend over a period of six hundred years, and are all written in the Babylonian character. Mr. Pinches published a summary of the contents of the Sun-god Tablet in the *Trans. Soc. Bib. Arch.*, Vol. VIII, pp. 164–171, but the other inscriptions have never before been translated.

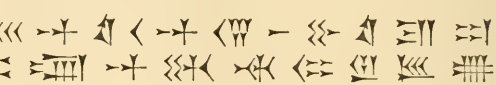
The first in chronological order is the above-mentioned tablet referring to the worship of the sun-god of Sippara. It contains on the upper part of the obverse a representation of the sun-god in his shrine, holding in his hand a large ring and a wand. Upon the top of the shrine are the upper parts of the bodies of two figures, holding in their hands cords which appear to be attached to a circular object which represents the disk of the sun placed upon the table before the shrine. In front of the disk are three figures. The first, evidently a priest, is leading the second, the king, holding him by his hand. The third and last is an attendant wearing a horned cap. The whole

appears to represent the king in adoration before the emblem of the sun. Above the three figures are the words:—

(1.)

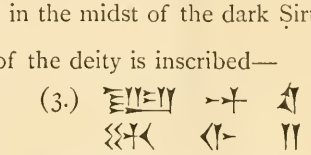
"The image of the sun-god, the great lord,
dwelling (in) Ê-bara
which (is) within Sippara."

Above the shrine is written—

(2.) 

"The moon-god, the sun-god, and Istar, placed in the enclosure of the abyss, in the midst of the dark Ṣirti."

Before the head of the deity is inscribed—

(3.) 

"The shrine of the sun-god
and the two attendants."

Above this latter inscription are three circular objects, to which the 2nd inscription refers. The first is "the new moon with the old in his arms," *i.e.*, the moon-god. The second is the disk of the sun, similar to that upon the table before the shrine; the third represents the disk of the planet Istar or Venus.

The rest of the obverse is occupied by three columns of inscription, each column containing 31 lines. The reverse contains also three columns of inscription, but each column contains 55 lines. The tablet has a fluted edge, is $11\frac{1}{2}$ inches long, $6\frac{7}{8}$ broad, and $2\frac{5}{8}$ in the thickest part. The obverse is flat, and the reverse convex, after the manner of the terra-cotta tablets. The tablet was made by order of Nabû-abla-iddina, or Nebobaladan, who reigned over Babylon about B.C. 900. Previous to the reign of this monarch a profane enemy had made an expedition against Akkad, and being victorious, had spoiled the temple of the sun-god of all its beautiful furniture, and none had been able to resist. Simmaš-Šiḫu had demanded that these spoils should be given up, but was not successful. Kaššû-nadin-âḫî and Ê-Ulbar-šakin-šumi, successors of

Šimmaš-Šiḫu, had undertaken various repairs to the temple, but no one gave such care and attention to the temple as Nebobaladan. He first attacked the enemy who had caused these ravages, and having defeated and destroyed them, next proceeded to rebuild and decorate the dwelling-place of the mighty sun-god. He gave orders that the image of the god should be made of beautiful crystal and gold, and these being carried out, he placed it in the "temple of the crystal heap" near the river Euphrates. Then followed a solemn dedication of the temple. Choice and mighty bulls were slain and offered for sacrifices, libations of sweet honey wine were poured out. Nebobaladan ordered that a certain quantity of food and drink should be paid yearly to the temple out of the revenues of the royal farms. Then follows a list of the offerings which the king directed should be given, according to the suggestions of the two priests. A list of clothing suitable for each festival of the god is next added. These particulars were inscribed on the tablet in the 31st year of Nebobaladan, king of Babylon, on the 20th day of Nisan, in the presence of several witnesses.

The second inscription in chronological order is inscribed upon an irregularly-shaped stone, which was set up in the reign of Marduk-balaṭsu-ikbî, about B.C. 800. It contains 18 lines of inscription. This king and his eldest son dedicated the land, of the limit of which this stone was the boundary, to the temple of Sin, Samas, and Nergal, entrusting it to Rammānu-iznun, the dagger-bearer (or priest) of Marduk. Curses on the disturber or remover of this stone are added. On the front are images of the king and dagger-bearer very rudely executed. The inscription presents difficulties and obscure words.

Following this came a remarkably interesting inscription of Esarhaddon. It is inscribed upon a small grey coloured barrel-cylinder in the Babylonian character. It was acquired by the British Museum in 1878, but where it was found is not known. The inscription begins with an address to Istar of Erech, and goes on to recount the various works undertaken by Esarhaddon for the restoration of the temples. This king endeavoured to pacify the minds and erase the animosity from the breasts of the Babylonians which had been aroused and provoked by the destruction of their city by Sennacherib. Esarhaddon held his court at Babylon, and adopted the Babylonian system of writing whenever he found it necessary to cause documents to be drawn up. One of the interesting features of

the inscription is that the king calls himself "direct descendant" of [illegible] Bêl-banî, son of Adasi, king of Assyria.

The fourth and last inscription is interesting and curious from many points of view. It is inscribed upon a solid barrel-cylinder, in two columns, the first containing 30 lines, the second 29. It is the most remarkable specimen of cuneiform inscriptions yet known. Though of so late a period (about B.C. 280), yet the characters are most archaic and complicated. The cylinder was made by Antiochus, the son of Seleucus, king of Babylon. Although Antiochus was a Greek, he yet had the policy to restore the great national temples of the ancient cities of Babylon and Borsippa, Ê-sagil, and Ê-zida. The king states that his pure hands made the bricks for the temples in the country of Ḥattim, which has been identified as that of the Hittites. The restoration of the temple took place on the 20th of Adar in the 43rd year of the era of the Seleucidæ, *i.e.*, B.C. 278–9. A large portion of the inscription is taken up by a prayer in which he entreats the gods to be favourable to himself, to his wife Stratonice, and to his son Seleucus.

The following is the substance of a Communication from M. Clermont Ganneau, LL.D., referring to the Plate of an Altar found at Mount Gerizim, published in the *Proceedings* of March last:—

I am indebted for a knowledge of this, one of the most interesting monuments hitherto found in Palestine, to M. Paulus, himself a sculptor of some talent, and resident in Jerusalem, and His Excellency Raouf Pasha, the Governor of Palestine, whose zeal and interest with regard to ancient monuments is worthy of all praise, and who immediately on the discovery of the monument took the necessary steps for its careful preservation.

They kindly sent to me in 1883 two sets of photographs representing the carved sides, or panels, from which the plate published in March last has been copied. Immediately on the receipt of them I made a communication, with some explanations, to the Académie des Inscriptions et de Belles Lettres.

The Ottoman authorities having about the middle of last year commenced some building operations at Nablous, the ancient Shechem, situated at the very foot of Mount Gerizim, a considerable

number of fragments of sculptured marble were unearthed. The most important of these was a large pedestal of marble a little over a yard in height, and in section triangular, or rather hexagonal. The angles formed by the three broad sides were cut off so as to form three narrow ones, all covered with *bassi-relievi* and Greek inscriptions.

It is not certain for what use this pedestal was intended, but it resembles to some degree the triangular altar-shaped pedestals, which also bear sculptured decorations, and were used to support certain ancient candelabra. A Greek inscription of five lines runs along the highest portion of the cornice of one of the broad sides [Plate A]. The natural shadow of the cornice, and the smallness of the photographs, renders it very difficult to make out the whole of this writing, but I have been able to decipher many of the words, and am satisfied from what I have made out that it is a metrical inscription.

On the narrow side between the sides A and B of the plate is engraved another Greek inscription of nine lines, which is absolutely undecipherable, owing to distortion and the smallness of the photograph. Each of the three panels carved on the three large sides is divided horizontally into two compartments, the bas-reliefs in all representing scenes taken from Hellenic mythology. There are thus six subjects, some of which are explained by short Greek sentences carved on the field, giving the names of the principal actors in the scene represented. Those of the lower panels are most easily identified, and belong to the cycle of the legend of Theseus. They follow one another in a relatively logical order, and may be thus briefly described. The young hero is first seen raising the rock under which are concealed the sword and the shoes of his father Aigeus; three female figures, one of which we may suppose is that of his mother, take part in the scene. The second scene represents Theseus fighting with the Minotaur—being easily recognized from the bull's head; the young Athenians, to liberate whom Theseus has undertaken his mission, are standing aside, and the cavern-like opening appears to indicate the den of the monster. Some letters of the inscription upon this panel are visible, and I have been able to read the name Meinotauros in the accusative.

The victory of Theseus over Corynetes is represented on the third bas-relief, and the robber is seen stretched at the feet of the hero, who, standing upright over his fallen foe, leans upon his own club, and holds in his hand the iron club of the robber of Epidaurus.

Near the body of the Minotaur stand three other figures, but they are too indistinct to be easily identified.

In the first of the three upper divisions are, on the left, Artemis, Apollo, and Latona, as we learn from the names carved over the head of each figure. The serpent Python is seen on the right, with his head pierced by the arrow of the divine archer. Passing to the left of the second upper scene is a figure, which is probably to be identified as Demeter, mounted in the celebrated car drawn by serpents. Under the shadow of a tree crowning a height is another female figure leaning on her right elbow, holding in her hand a palm or, it may be, a cornucopia, her breast being ornamented with a garland of flowers. This may perhaps be either the personification of some country intended to be indicated, or the representation of a telluric deity. The third and last of the series of upper scenes appears to have suffered greatly, and to this probably is to be attributed the indistinctness of the photograph. The male half-kneeling figure, probably Hercules, is struggling with two serpents, and on both sides of this centre group two women are represented hastening away from the scene of the combat.

The altar or pedestal is of the Græco-Roman period, and is chiefly interesting from having been found on this site, as it must have belonged to the pagan temple erected on Mount Gerizim, so frequently to be found represented on the Greek Imperial coins of Neapolis. The manner in which Greek legends had become settled at Neapolis may be explained by the formation of an assimilation of a more or less arbitrary character, such as was the custom, between Athens and the ancient Shechem transformed at the Græco-Roman period, the time of the altar. Without at once insisting on this explanation, I will mention one or two facts which might be taken as bearing it out. The representations on the coins of Neopolis of Mount Gerizim, upon which is the temple, approached by the grand flight of steps, bear a striking resemblance to the Acropolis of Athens as found upon the Greek coins. Again, almost all the scenes represented on the altar are taken from the Attic cycle, or incidents in the legends of Theseus and Demeter. Finally the name of Attica is certainly found in the inscription. But until we have copies of the inscriptions it is impossible to decide on this and other points, probably they would enlighten us on the reason of the dedication of the altar. I have sent a request for squeezes, and can only hope that ere long I shall be in possession of them.

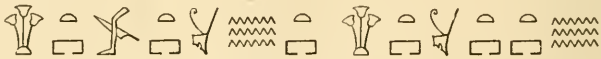
The following completes the remarks of Dr. Birch on the Hypocephali in the British Museum :—

The hypocephalus No. 8445 presents a series of similar representations to those previously described. In the first division the two-headed deity with plumes, the bark or the chest of Osiris, figured as a hawk on an ark, adored by Isis and Nephthys, the boat of Ra, with the scarab emblem of the god Kheper on one side; the six rams and the three birds, emblem of the soul, and the boat with the hawk of Socharis on the other side. Second division: the double-bodied, four-headed type of Amen Ra, holding the usual combinations of life, health, and stability, adored by standing lunar apes. On the right side are four lines of hieroglyphs reading: (1) "Oh god Khepra, in the midst of the boat (2) oh the great type in it, (3) who gives all life and health (4) to those gods dwelling in the Hades for ever. On the left side are four similar lines of hieroglyphs reading: (1) Oh great soul producing (2) the transformations of the flames (3) and transformations of the two symbolic eyes, the god, king, (4) the ruler.

The third division, inverted to the others, has a line of hieroglyphs: "Adoration to Harmachis, come thy son loving thee thy soul." The scenes beneath are in two divisions—(1) The scarab Kheper and the god Ra, the gateway of Chnum or Amon, the mystical temple, hieroglyph name, Kher mau ser, the four genii of the Hades, the cow of Athor, the eye-headed goddess, the human-headed god with a hawk, bark, type of Amen Ra adored by Nahab ka, holding the right symbolic eye. (2) Boat, with a cynocephalus in a shrine, probably Thoth, adored by a cynocephalus holding the right symbolic eye, with housing at the prow meeting the solar boat with Ra, Isis, and Nephthys, and three sailors, with the emblem *Shes*, or 'follower' in the front. The esoteric meaning of these scenes is unknown. The inscription round the rim reads: "I am the spirit going along; I am Amen who is in secret place (sarcophagus), I am the great one in Hades, I am the one who comes forth from the eye, I am the one in its pupil; I have come from the place of the great one in Heliopolis, I have come from the place of eternity." There is no name of the person for whom made, but it is about the same period. The half of a hypocephalus (8445 *f*) has the following:—first, the central division of the eye, with the four ram-headed god with two bodies and sceptres surmounted by the *atef*, seated, adored by the

two lunar cynocephali, each having an oval before it, with a male emblem of one of the regions in Hades. On each side are four lines of hieroglyphs. On the right (1) "Oh the great god (2) living in the air, coming from (3) the water, the sun goes to hear his word." On the left side: (1) "Oh the noble god; (2) the great god living in heaven, (3) his power is he prevails living he gives all life, stability, and health."

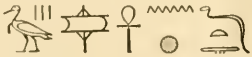
On the third division, reverse of the preceding, is the leaf, lion, and sheep, an anaglyph name of the god Amen, the cow, having plumes on the head and life pendent, having before her the four genii of the Hades, behind her, goddess with disk, in which is a symbolic eye for the head, the mystical form of Amen or Khem (Amsi), human-headed, with a bird's back, the left hand holding a whip, the snake god on legs, Nahab, or Nahab ka, offering a symbolic eye, and having between them an emblem. Above is a horizontal line of hieroglyphs:—



*ha t tha en mau hat en t-pa-tpa-mau*

"the cavern of the passage of the waters," perhaps referring to the whole scene. Above the cow is inserted "giver of life to the gods."

Around the border is part of the inscription of the margin, "Oh Ark in the roofed abode of Heliopolis, rejoicing . . . thou hast . . . . his lord, the great god, who lets live the soul of the Osirian lady, Asiemkheb justified."

The gift of life to the soul means, of course, eternal life, but although this may be inferred from the texts of the Ritual, the place where it is actually asserted is on a Canopic or sepulchral vase of the Museum of Turin (*Regio Museo di Torino*, 1882, 4to, p. 465), *anχ ba k t'ta*, 'thy soul lives for ever,' or 'is immortal.' Something of the same kind is asserted on the coffin of Harnetatef (British Museum, 6678), where a flying figure of the soul is called  where the *nf*, 'breath,' is three times seen, and the rest then reads, *bau anχ t'ta*, 'the souls

living for ever'; the word 'breath' or 'air,' perhaps not in connection with *ba*, but used to indicate the region of the air. These texts prove the idea of the immortality of the soul.

No. 8445 *a* is the imperfect half of a hypocephalus of papyrus. The ram-headed double deity, Amen-Ra, of the centre is wanting; part of the upper division consisting of five rams, and the boat of Socharis with the hawk, and a scarcely legible inscription. Beneath is an inscription of four horizontal lines, not very intelligible, but relating to Amen, referring to the god Amen, and "the bringing of his existence to the flame" of the soul. On the other division is, 1st, the scarab, a god, and the pylon of Chnum or Amen, and an imperfect inscription; 2nd, a goddess falling over a scarab, final part of the vignette of the 17th chapter of the Ritual, and stated to be Isis in her mystery, or Uat or Buto in the solar eye is said to be proceeding to the judgment of those who are in the Tattu, destroyer of the souls of the enemies of Osiris. Behind her is the boat, with the cynocephalus seated in an ark in the boat, adored by another cynocephalus. Round the border is a larger line of hieroglyphs incomplete, beginning with the obscure phrase . . . the name . . of the terror of Thee; I am Amen, who is in thy mystery in thy hand; I am going . . . . . This is the latest of all the hypocephali, as the substitution of papyrus did not take place till about B.C. 200.

The following Communications have been received from Mr. Renouf:—

### THE EGYPTIAN GOD

All the names of the gods mentioned in the Book of the Dead may now with a single exception be considered as satisfactorily deciphered. I do not mean to say that all scholars are unanimous as to their readings, but there is no excuse for their not being so. All the divine names have their alphabetic orthography, and if some scholars choose to call a god Tum, whose name is written Tmu, they do so in obedience to a theory put forth in the very infancy of Egyptology, and which its own author abandoned many years ago. And we shall no doubt have still for some time to endure such eccentric readings as *χim* and *keb*, which are utterly indefensible, until the believer in these strange divinities condescends to look at the real evidence.

But there is a god whose name figures in Dr. Lieblein's Index to the Book of the Dead, among the "words of which the reading is uncertain." He is sometimes referred to, but no one has yet ventured on a transcription of the ideograph by which the name is expressed. A gap stands in his place in M. Pierret's translation of the 109th chapter, at the end of which we are told in a note:—"On n'a pas encore su lire le nom de ce dieu, écrit au moyen d'un triangle renversé et muni d'un double appendice courbe." It is high time that this divine name and its meaning should be revealed.

The phonetic value of the sign is discovered through its occurrence in a proper name (Boulaq, St. 71, Lieblein, *Dictionnaire*, No. 678), where the phonetic complement and the determinative suggest a reading which is fully confirmed by the variant *hont ut'ebu* (Leyden, St. v, 42, Lieblein, No. 842).

The latter group occurs in the sixth chapter of the Book of the Dead, and is therefore found with many variants on the innumerable sepulchral figures upon which that chapter is inscribed.

The god's name then is *Uṭeb* or *Ut'eb*, for both forms of the word are found; and the meaning is equally certain. *uṭeb*, in the 19th line of the Decree of Canopus, is translated by the Greek μεταβαίνειν. And μεταβαίνειν is translated by ⲟⲩⲱⲧⲉϩ in the Coptic version of Matthew, xviii, 20. This Coptic word in its turn corresponds to ἀναβαίνειν, ὑπερβαίνειν, μεταστρέφεσθαι, μεταβάλλειν, μετατιθέναι, μεταναστεύειν, μετοικεσία, and others, all involving the notion of change, particularly in place. *Transition, change*, is the primitive sense of the Egyptian word, wherever it is found.

*āḥā Nit ḥer ab uṭebu*, "Neith stands fast in the midst of change," *Todt.* 71, 10. And the sun-god Tmu is called *sexem uā en nutàru att-uteb*, "the Power, the unique one of the gods, the immutable," *Todt.* 78, 38. ⲁⲑⲟⲩⲱⲧⲉϩ, which is almost the exact transcription of , is the Coptic word for *immutable* in Hebrews vi, 18.

I must refer to Brugsch's Lexicon for other and derivative uses of the word, the most common of which stands for the loose soil of which the banks of the river and of the canals are formed, in opposition to *āt*, the 'fixed earth,' which is undisturbed by the inundation.* Hence in the 109th chapter of the Book of the Dead we read of "the fields of corn land in which the ears of corn spring from the effluxes of the god Uteb."

As Seb is the earth and Hāpi the Nile, so is Uteb the god 'who changes his abode,' the alluvial deposit annually brought down by the divine river.

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## IS THE HEBREW WORD CHERUB OF EGYPTIAN ORIGIN ?

The text which is known as the 136th chapter of the Book of the Dead is of comparatively recent date. It has grown out of a much older text, some of the most remarkable features of which were gradually altered or eliminated. The older forms of the text are to be found in the papyri written during the eighteenth and nineteenth dynasties. In some of these, as in the Leyden papyrus of Śuti Kenna,† the text is already divided into two, each having its own title. The older portion begins thus :—

re sekatnu em uâa āa en

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* The determinatives and are expressive of the motion from place to place. The small sign ○, which is very frequent, represents a grain of the soil. There was from the oldest times a high priestly title *uṭeb*, perhaps analogous to our "Visitor."

† I recently quoted here (*Proceedings*, Feb. 5, 1884) a text in which the proper name *âuset*, is written in the place where the name of Isis should be, but over a bearded divinity. In this Leyden papyrus, pl. XX, the undoubted name of Isis, , is also written over a bearded divinity. The beard in this latter case is an evident blunder ; it is so no doubt in the former case, and I conclude that the Egyptian name of Isis was *Auset*.

rā seua ḥer śenit ent χet ubeχet

ȧrt ḥa (?)* rā

"*Chapter of sailing in the mighty bark of the sun, and passing through the orbit of bright flame which is behind the sun.*"

The state of the text, like that of most parts of the Book of the Dead, is exceedingly corrupt; no two copies agree in their orthography, and the differences between them are of great importance with reference to the meaning of the text.† It is but too certain that the true meaning was beyond the comprehension of the scribes. A collation of all the existing manuscripts will no doubt clear up most of the textual difficulties. For my present purpose, however, so extensive a collation is not necessary.

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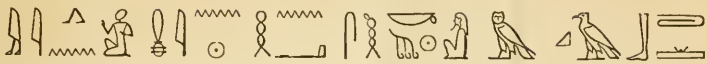
* See *Proceedings*, Feb. 5, on this preposition. Another instance of the orthography *ḥa-ḥtep* or *ḥā ṭep*, is found on the royal sarcophagus (B.M. 32). is the relative form of the compound preposition agreeing with the noun which precedes it. This sarcophagus contains a bad copy of the chapter in question.

† Some of these differences are caused by gross ignorance or carelessness. But a change of determinative may greatly alter the sense. In the title of the chapter the manuscripts give *šenit*, the sense of 'orbit,' but the same word with another determinative signifies tempest, and in a later part of the chapter we have *šenit ent χet*, which means something very like 'angels or ministers of flame.' Sometimes the difference is caused by substituting a word which is better known than the original one. Thus *šereru*, 'the young ones,' is put instead of the apparently obsolete word *rešiu*, of the same signification. And where the "Todtenbuch," 136, 2 has the older papyri have .

The Osiris in the account which he gives of his celestial journey, says—



inâ mân ḥenā sek-āḥā em qab

en śe-f t'eser

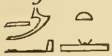
"*I come daily, with the divine reckoner of time, from the interior of his exalted station.*"

*Sek-āḥā*, the "divine reckoner of time," is of course Thoth. Positive proof of this will be found in the comparison of two texts published by Dr. Dümichen (*Zeitsch.*, 1872, p. 40), in one of which appears as the variant of . I have little doubt that the scholars of a recent period borrowed this term and its peculiar orthography from the ancient chapter I am speaking about. It was not so clear to some of the scribes of an older period.

The Osiris continues—

âu maa-nâ mās en maāt χerefu âru

"*I see the process of the laws of nature, and their lion-forms.*"*

It is a serious error, as I have elsewhere said, to consider *Truth* or *Justice* as the primitive sense or exact translation of the Egyptian  *maāt*. This always means the Law of the Universe; of which Truth and Justice are but partial aspects. *Maāt* is not limited

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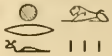
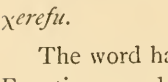
* Or "the lion-forms belonging to them." *âru*, is the relative plural form of the preposition agreeing with the noun before it. I insist on these elementary remarks, because there are still partisans of a verb *which does not exist* in Egyptian.

to moral right. All the laws of nature, physical as well as moral, are *maāt*.*

But what I am chiefly concerned with in this note is the next word in the text. The Osiris sees lion-forms connected with the laws of nature, either as their symbols or as cosmic forces. The Egyptian word which in some of the papyri (*e.g.* B.M. 9900 [*Nebseni*] and 9914), is ideographically expressed by is in other papyri (*e.g.* B.M. 9943, 9964, and 10009) phonetically written  *χerefu*.

The word has never yet to my knowledge been recognized in our Egyptian vocabularies. It would however etymologically be the most natural origin of the Coptic ϫⲉⲣⲉϩ or ϩⲣϩ and of the still older Demotic *χereb*, all signifying "forms," were it not for the very great similarity of the Demotic word with the hieroglyphic  *χeperu*, of which it appears as the translation in the Rhind papyri. For although the Egyptian verb *χeper* assumes in Coptic the form ϭⲱⲡⲓ, which is very unlike ϫⲉⲣⲉϩ, the same word may be the origin of two very unlike forms in a later stage of the language.

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* I have also protested against translating *maāt χeru* by 'véridique.' The Egyptian word has nothing whatever to do with telling the truth, or veracity in any shape. It means 'triumph, triumphant.' And the negation of it is not 'mendacity,' but want of success, failure. The following examples will show the absurdity of the meaning 'véridique.'

One of the old chapters not included in the Saitic recension of the Book of the Dead has a long invocation to Osiris Chentamenti Unnefer. "Thou art crowned," it says, "like Ra," his attributes are thine, his glories, his disk, his crown, his throne, his might, &c., are thine; finally

*an-mut-ef an-mut-ek, an-māχeru-f er χeftu-f an-māχeru-k er χeftu-k*, "his immortality is thy immortality, and his want of success against his adversaries is thy want of success against thine adversaries." Neither Osiris nor Rā are guilty of mendacity, but each fails of success when Day succumbs to Night. The passage here quoted will be found in the Leyden Papyrus of Śuti Kenna (T. 2), published in Leemans' *Monuments*, III, livr. 28, pl. xvi, though with a slight inaccuracy, for which the Egyptian scribe is responsible.

The Coptic lexicographers derive ϫερεϩ from the Hebrew כְּרוּב. May not the latter word rather be derived from the Egyptian *χeref?*

No satisfactory Semitic etymology has yet been discovered for the Hebrew word, and the ablest scholars have felt inclined to admit an Indo-European origin for it. How the Hebrews should have gone to a Persian source for the name of the symbolical forms upon the Ark of the Covenant or on the walls of the temple of Solomon it is difficult to explain. But the Egyptian *χeref* is quite as near to the Hebrew word as the Persian *giriften*, or the Greek γρύφες, and is historically a more probable origin of it.

It is, I hope, almost superfluous to say that the word may have come into the Hebrew language without bringing with it any mythological associations. When a word passes from one language into the general use of another, the greatest portion of its original meaning disappears, and quite new associations of meaning cluster about it.

It is of course only as a conjecture that I propose this new etymology as preferable to the Semitic and non-Semitic etymologies which have yet been suggested.

But Assyriologists may possibly have something to say on the subject.

The following communication has been received from Mr. Theo. G. Pinches:—

The tablet from which the following list of Babylonian kings has been obtained is of unbaked clay, three inches and a half long, and three inches and a quarter wide. It is inscribed on both sides, but, being of so soft a material, has suffered considerably, and it has been only by the most patient and careful examination that the text has been made out, and in consequence of the strain upon the eyes entailed by the bad state of the text, and the need of feeling one's way at every step, it was only at long intervals that the author was able to study the inscription and complete his copy. This tablet, like most others, is formed in a peculiar way, the obverse being flat, and the reverse curved, the result being that a certain point, two inches and a half from the thinnest part, may be definitely fixed upon as

being the middle of the tablet, so that the full length of the tablet, when perfect, was five inches.

The portion of the tablet left is the lower part of the obverse and the upper part of the reverse. Each side has two columns, so that the first and second have the beginning, and the third and fourth the end wanting. All four columns also are otherwise mutilated.

The text begins with a dynasty which contains eleven kings, which, as it is followed by another dynasty of eleven kings, must be the dynasty of Babylon of the small tablet published by me in the *Proceedings* of Dec. 7th, 1880, the space being exactly that required for these eleven names. The next dynasty, which also consists of eleven kings, is called the dynasty of Šišku, here written [illegible],* and not [illegible]. The rest of the column is occupied by seven (or eight) names of the kings of a third dynasty, consisting, as is evident, of 36 kings. This dynasty was continued on the second column, near the end of which it finishes. After the division-line come the remains of the names of two kings, a third being lost. This dynasty, which consisted, like the first two, of eleven kings, finishes a little way down in the third column (the right-hand column of the reverse). The next two dynasties, each of three kings, are complete. After these comes a dynasty containing only one king, whose name is lost. The eighth dynasty occupied the rest of the third column and the top of the fourth, and is that containing the name of Nabonassar (third line from the top). This dynasty contained about thirty-one kings.

The last dynasty given on this most valuable tablet is important, in showing the extreme exactness of the Canon of Ptolemy. The tablet is unfortunately broken after the word Kandal (Kandalanu or Kineladanos).

The difficulty of deciphering this mutilated text was somewhat increased by the names being abbreviated (compare the second dynasty, p. 195, where the letters within parentheses show what has to be added to complete the names), and by the short way of giving the summations of the years of each dynasty, by means of the sexagesimal system. Thus 368 is represented by the characters [illegible] $= 6 \times 60 + 8$, 576 is represented by [illegible] $= 6 \times 9 + 36$, etc. All this, however, would have been quite easy if the tablet had been in good condition.

* [illegible] has also the value of *ku* in Akkadian.

THE BABYLONIAN KINGS OF THE SECOND PERIOD, 2232 B.C., TO THE END OF THE EXISTENCE OF THE KINGDOM.

1. The Dynasty of Tintir or Babylon; 11 kings, for 294 years.
2. The Dynasty of Šišku; 11 kings, for 368 years.
3. The Dynasty of Kassi; 36 kings, for 576 years 9 months.
4. The Dynasty of Paše; 11 kings, for 72 years 6 months.
5. The Dynasty of Tamtu; 3 kings, for 21 years 5 months.
6. The Dynasty of Bazi; 3 kings, for 20 years 3 months.
7. The Dynasty of Elam; 1 king, for 6 years.
8. The Dynasty of Babylon; 31 kings, [for 223 years].
9. The Dynasty of Babylonian and Assyrian kings; 20 kings, [for 194 years].
10. The Dynasty of Persian kings.

*1st Dynasty of Babylon* [11 *kings, for* 294 *years*].

| B.C. | | | B.C. | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 2232. | Sumu-abi . . | 15 years. | 2075. | Samsu-iluna . | 35 years. |
| 2217. | Sumula-ilu . . | 35 ,, | 2040. | Êbišum . . | 25 ,, |
| 2182. | Zabû . . | 14 ,, | 2015. | Ammisatana . | 25 ,, |
| 2168. | Apil-Sin . . | 18 ,, | 1990. | Ammisadugga | 21 ,, |
| 2150. | Sin-muballiṭ . | 30 ,, | 1969. | Samsusatana | 31 ,, |
| 2120. | Ǵammurabi . | 45 ,, | | | |

*2nd Dynasty of Šis-ku* [11 *kings, for* 368 *years*].

| B.C. | | | B.C. | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1938. | Anma(n) . . | 51 yrs. | 1779. | Kir-gal-(dara-maš) | 50 yrs. |
| 1887. | Ki-an(ni-bi) . . | 55 ,, | 1639. | A-Adara-(kalama) | 28 ,, |
| 1832. | Damki-il(i-šu). . | 46 ,, | 1611. | A-kur-du-(anna) | 26 ,, |
| 1786. | Iš-ki(pal) . . | 15 ,, | 1585. | Melamma-(kurkura) | 6 ,, |
| 1771. | Sušši-aḫi . . . | 27 ,, | 1579. | Ea-ga(mil?) . . | 9 ,, |
| 1744. | Gul-ki(šar) . . | 55 ,, | | | |

*3rd Dynasty*, 36 *kings, for* 576 *years* 9 *months.*

| B.C. | | | B.C. | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1570. | Kan-diš . . | 16 years. | 1510. | Ušši . . . | 8 years. |
| 1554. | Agum-ši . . | 22 ,, | 1502. | Adu-melik . . | |
| 1532. | Agu-â-ši . . | 22 ,, | 1486. | (?) Taš-zi-u-maš * | |

* This is, perhaps, the Tašši-gurumaš of W.A.I., V, pl. 31, col. I, line 13. One of the names of the character 《 is *giguru*, which is a compound of *gi*, one of the values of the character, with *guru*, to distinguish it from ►𒌋𒄀𒂊 *gi*, and

*3rd Dynasty*—continued.

| B.C. | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1479. | (?) . . . . . | |
| 1463. | (?) . . . . . | |
| 1456. | (?) . . . . . | |
| 1439. | (?) . . . . . | |
| 1423. | (?) . . . . . | |
| 1406. | (?) . . . . . | |
| 1390. | (?) . . . . . | |
| 1373. | (?) . . . . . | |
| 1356. | (?) . . . . . | |
| 1340. | (?) . . . . . | |
| 1323. | (?) . . . . . | |
| 1307. | (?) . . . . . | |
| 1290. | (?) . . . . . | |
| 1274. | (?) . . . . . | |
| 1257. | (?) . . . . . | |
| 1240. | . . . . . | 22 years. |
| 1218. | . . . . . | 26 ,, |
| 1192. | . . . . . | 17 ,, |

| B.C. | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1175. | Ka-ra . . . . . (?) | 2 years. |
| 1173. | Giš-amme . . . ti | 6 ,, |
| 1167. | Šaga-šaltiaš . | 13 ,, |
| 1154. | [illegible] his son | 8 ,, |
| 1146. | Bêl-nadin-šumi | 1 year and 6 months. |
| 1144. | Ka-ra-Mur-uš | 1 ,, and 6 months. |
| 1143. | Rammānu-nadin-šumi | 6 years. |
| 1137. | Rammānu-šum-naṣir | 30 ,, |
| 1107. | Meli-Šiǵu . . | 15 ,, |
| 1092. | Marduk-abla-iddin | 13 ,, |
| 1079. | Zagaga-nadin-šumi | 1 year. |
| 1078. | Bel-šum-* | 3 years. |

*4th Dynasty, of Paše,* 11 *kings, for* 72 *years* 6 *months.*

| B.C. | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1075. | Marduk-* -* . | 17 years. |
| 1058. | . . . . . | 6 ,, |
| 1052. | . . . . . | |
| 1052. | . . . . . | |
| 1051. | . . . . . | |
| 1050. | . . . . . | |

| B.C. | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1049. | . . . . . | |
| 1048. | . . . . . | 22 years. |
| 1026. | Marduk-nadin-* | 1 year and 6 months. |
| 1025. | Marduk-zir-* . | 13 years. |
| 1012. | Nabû-nadin-* | 9 ,, |

*5th Dynasty, of Tamtim,* 3 *kings, for* 21 *years* 5 *months.*

| B.C. | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1003. | Simmas-siǵu | 18 years. |
| 985. | Êa-mukîn-ziri | 5 months. |

| B.C. | | |
|---|---|---|
| 985. | Kaššû-nadin-âḫî | 3 years. |

---

[illegible] *gi* (*gi-gunu*), just as [illegible] is called *šu-maštin* to distinguish it from [illegible]. The character [illegible] *zi*, "life," is, in the dialect of Akkadian, *ši*, and this is, most likely, the pronunciation to be given to it here, and is, if so, an additional proof of the close connection of the dialect of Akkadian with Kassite.

*6th Dynasty*, 3 *kings*, *for* 20 *years* 3 *months*.

| B.C. | | | B.C. | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 982. | Ê-Ulbar-šakin-šumi | 17 yrs. | 962. | Šilanim-Šuḳamuna | 3 months. |
| 965. | Ninip-kudurri-uṣur | 3 ,, | | | |

*7th Dynasty*, 1 *king*, *for* 6 *years*.

961. An Elamite, 6 years.

*8th Dynasty*, *of Babylon*, 31 *kings*.

| B.C. | | | B.C. | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 955. | . . . . . | 13 years. | 838. | . . . . . | |
| 942. | . . . . | 6 m. 12 days. | 831. | . . . . . | |
| 941. | . . . . . | | 824. | Marduk-balaṭ-su-iḳbî | |
| 928. | . . . . . | | 817. | . . . . . | |
| 921. | Nabû-šum-iškun . | | 810. | . . . . . | |
| 914. | . . . . . | | 803. | . . . . . | |
| 907. | . . . . . | | 796. | . . . . . | |
| 900. | . . . . . | | 789. | . . . . . | |
| 892. | Tugulti-Ninip . . | | 782. | . . . . . | |
| 885. | Rammānu-nadin-aḫi (or šum-nasir) | | 775. | . . . . . | |
| 880. | Nabû-abla-iddin* . | | 768. | . . . . . | |
| 853. | Nabû-šum-iddin. . | | 761. | . . . . . | |
| 852. | Marduk-bêl-usâte (rebel king). | | 754. | Nabû-šum-iškun ‡ . | |
| 850. | †. . . . . | | 747. | Nabû-[naṣēr . | 14] years. |
| 845. | . . . . . | | 734. | Nabû-nadin-ziri § | 2 ,, |
| | | | 732. | Nabû-šum-ukîn‖ | 1 month 12 days. |

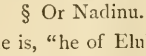
*9th Dynasty*.

| B.C. | | | B.C. | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 732. | Ukîn-zira of Šaši | 3 years. | 722. | Marduk-abla-iddin of Tamtim . | 12 ,, |
| 729. | Pulu . . . . | 2 ,, | 710. | Sargina . . . | 5 ,, |
| 727. | Ululâa of Tinu¶ | 5 ,, | | | |

* Died in the reign of Shalmaneser II of Assyria.

† Marduk-šum-udammiḳ king of Namri at this time.

‡ Son of Dakuri. § Or Nadinu. ‖ Or Šum-ukîn.

¶ The meaning of this name is, "he of Elul," probably so named from having been born in that month. The tablet 84-2-11, 92, gives the ideographic form of the name  D.P. D.P. Ulu-la-a-a. Compare also W.A.I. III, pl. 1, col. ii, l. 31.

*9th Dynasty*—continued.

| B.C. | | | B.C. | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 705. | Sin-âḫi-eriba of Saṣurgal . . | 2 years. | 688. | Sin-âḫî-eriba . | 8 years. |
| 703. | Marduk-zakir-šumi | 1 month. | 680. | Aššur-aḫi(-iddin) | [13† ,, ] |
| 703. | Marduk-abla-iddin | 9 months. | 667. | Šamaš-šum-(ukîn) | [20 ,, ] |
| 702. | Bêl-ibnî . . . | 3 years. | 647. | Kandal(anu) . | [22 ,, ] |
| 699. | Aššur-nadin-šumi | 6 ,, | 625. | [Nabû-abla-uṣur | 21 ,, ] |
| 693. | Nergal-ušêzib | 1* ,, | 504. | [Nabû-kudurri-uṣur | 43 ,, ] |
| 692. | Mušêzib-Marduk | 4 ,, | 561. | [Amel-Marduk | 2 ,, ] |
| | | | 559. | [Nergal-šarra-uṣur | 4 ,, ] |
| | | | 555. | [Nabû-na'id . . | 17 ,, ] |

A paraphrase of the contents of the Babylonian chronicle, referring to the principal events of the era of Nabonassar :—

𒀭𒀜𒀭𒀭𒀭 𒁹𒁹, *Nabû-naṣēr*, *Ναβονάσαρος*, Nabonassar.

Revolt of Borsippa and Babylon, quelled by Nabonassar in Borsippa. No account left of the battle in Borsippa.

14th year. Death of Nabonassar in his palace. Accession of Ummanigas to the throne of Elam.

𒀭𒀜𒀭𒀭𒀭 𒀀𒄭 𒁹𒁹, *Nabû-nadin-ziri*, or 𒀭 𒀜𒀊 𒀀𒄭 𒁹𒁹, *Nadinu*, *Νάδιος*, Nadios, son of Nabonassar.

2nd year, Nabû-nadin-ziri killed in a revolt, led by 𒀭𒀜𒀭𒀭𒀭 𒀀𒄭 𒁹𒁹, *Nabû-šum-ukîn*, or 𒀭 𒀀𒄭 𒁹𒁹𒁹 𒀜𒀊, *Šúm-ukîn*, who was succeeded, after a reign of one month and twelve days, by 𒀭 𒁹𒁹 𒁹𒁹, *Ukîn-zir*, *Χινζίρος*, Chinziros.

In the third year of this king came Tiglath-pileser and destroyed Bît-Amukan and captured Ukîn-zir.

𒀭 𒁹𒁹 𒀭𒀭, *Pulu*, *Πῶρος*, Poros, or, according to the Chronicle, 𒀭 𒀭𒀭 𒀭𒀭𒀭𒀭𒀭 𒀭𒀭𒀭𒀭𒀭 𒀭𒀭𒀭𒀭, *Tugulti-apil-Ê-šara*, Tiglath-pileser III.

Tiglath-pileser died, after a reign of two years, in the month Tebeṭ.

𒀭 𒀭𒀭𒀭𒀭 𒀭𒀭𒀭𒀭𒀭𒀭, *Ululâa*, *Ἰλουλαίος*, Elulaeus, or, according to the chronicle, 𒀭 𒀭𒀭𒀭𒀭𒀭𒀭

𒁹 𒀀𒈬 𒀭𒌋𒁕𒁺 𒁹 𒀀𒄭, *Marduk-abla-iddin*, *Μαρδοκεμπάδος*, Mardok-empados.

This king mounted the Babylonian throne in Nisan, four months after the death of Shalmaneser.

In the second year of Merodach-baladan a great battle took place in the province of Dûr-ili, between Ummanigaš, king of Elam, and Sargon of Assyria, in which the former was victorious. Merodach-baladan came to the aid of the Elamites, but was only in time to join in the pursuit.

In the fifth year of Merodach-baladan Ummanigaš, king of Elam, died, and was succeeded by Istar-ḫundu, his sister's son.

Somebody came and ravaged Bît-Dakuri.

[Here the end of the first column, and the beginning of the second, are broken away.]

Merodach-baladan begins to get more powerful, and plunders the country.

Evidently Sennacherib, after taking Larancha and Šarrama, sets Bêl-ibnî on the throne in Babylon.

𒁹 𒁀𒁍𒌋𒁍 𒁀𒁍𒌋𒁍 𒁀𒁍𒌋𒁍, *Bêl-ibnî*, *Βηλίβος*,* Belibos.

In the first year of this king Sennacherib destroyed the cities of Ḫirimma and Ḫararatū.

In the third year of Bêl-ibnî Sennacherib descended to Akkad and spoiled the land, carrying off Bêl-ibnî and his chief men to Assyria.

𒁹 𒀀𒈬 𒀀𒄭 𒀀𒄭 𒀀𒄭, *Aššur-nadin-šumi* (*Απαραναδίος*, Aparanadios), son of Sennacherib, set upon the throne of Babylonia.

In the first year of this king, Ištar-ḫundu, king of Elam, was captured by his brother Ḫallušu, who now mounted the throne of Elam. Ištar-ḫundu had ruled the kingdom of Elam for eighteen years.

In the sixth year of Aššur-nadin-šumi, Sennacherib invaded Elam, destroyed the cities Nagitu, Ḫiltu, Pillatu, and Ḫupapanu, and carried of their spoil. Afterwards Ḫullušu, king of Elam, invaded Akkad, and led his army as far as Sippara, putting the people to death, but he did not carry away the image of the Sun-god from Ê-bara. Aššur-nadin-šumi he carried captive to Elam, and set 𒁹 𒀀𒈬 𒀭𒌋𒁍 𒁀𒁀𒁀𒁀 𒁀𒁀 𒁀𒁀, *Nergal-ušêzib* (*Ρηγεβήλος*, Regebelos), upon the Babylonian throne.

This ruler had partly to conquer the dominions over which he

* The *n* has fallen out after the *β* in the Greek form of the name. Compare Nadinu = *Νάδιος* above.

was to rule, and his first act was to take Nipur from the Assyrians, on the 16th of the month Tammuz, in the first year of his reign. On the 1st of Tisri, the Assyrians went down to Erech, evidently to try to defeat the forces of the new king. Processions of the gods now took place in that city to gain their help in the coming struggle. A battle was fought near Nipur, in which the victory is claimed for Nergal-ušêṣib. The Babylonian king, however, did not long survive his victory, and died after having ruled only one year and six months.

About this time the Elamites revolted, and killing Ḫallušu their king, set Kudur* on the throne. Ḫallušu had reigned in Elam six years. After the accession of Kudur, Sennacherib went down to Elam, and ravaged and plundered the country from Râš to Bît-Burnaki (or Bît-Bunaku). Whilst these events were taking place

𒌋 𒁹 𒄭 𒄭 𒀀𒀜 𒁹𒁹𒁹 *Mušêzib-Marduk*, (*Μεσησιμορδάκος*, Mesesimordakos), mounted the throne of Babylon.

In the first year of this king a revolt took place in Elam, and Kudur was killed, after a reign of only ten months. Menanu (Umman-menanu) now took the reins of government. In a year unknown Menanu gathered the people of Elam and Akkad, and fought a battle with the Assyrians at Ḫalulê. The Babylonian chronicler claims victory for the Elamites.

On the 15th of Nisan, in the fourth year of Mušêṣib-Marduk, he was taken prisoner by Menanu, king of Elam, and sent to Assyria. On the 7th of the month Adar of the same year Menanu died, and was succeeded by Ḫumbaḫaldašu (Ummanaldas).

According to the Babylonian canon, Sennacherib now again became king of Babylon.

In the eighth year of this king Ḫumbaḫaldašu was smitten with some sickness, and died, after having ruled Elam for eight years. He was succeeded by Ḫumbaḫaldašu II. On the 20th of Tebet Sennacherib's son revolted and killed his father. This revolt in Assyria lasted from the 20th of Tebet until the 2nd or 3rd of Adar, on the 8th (or 18th) of which month Esarhaddon mounted the throne of Assyria.

𒀀𒀜 𒁹 𒄭 𒄭 Aššur-âḫi-iddin, Esarhaddon.

In the first year of Esarhaddon Zir-bîti(?)-êšir (Nabû-ziri-napišti-êšir), one of the sons of Merodach-baladan, went up to Larsa and got an army together. Being defeated by the Assyrians, he fled to Elam.

* Kudur-Nanḫundu.

The king of Elam (Ummanaldas) wishing, apparently, to be on friendly terms with Esarhaddon, captured him and put him to death.

In the third year of his reign, Esarhaddon sent certain people to Assyria, where they were put to death. In the same year also he captured and plundered the city of Sidon.

In the month of Tisri of the fourth year of Esarhaddon, the head of the king of Sidon (Abdi-milkutti) was cut off and sent to Assyria. In the month Adar of the same year the king of Kundi and Sisû (Sanduarri) suffered also the same fate.

In the sixth year the king of Elam made a raid into Babylonia, and penetrated as far as Sippara, the result being that the Sun-god did not come forth from E-bara that year. In this year also the Assyrian army started for Egypt. Ḫumbaḫaldašu, king of Elam, died in his palace, "not sick," after having ruled Elam for five years. He was succeeded by his brother Urtagu (Urtaku). In a month not known Šum-iddin, the Guenna, and Kudur, son of Dakuri, went to Assyria.

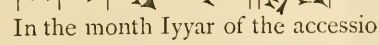
In the seventh year of Esarhaddon, on the 5th of Adar, the Assyrians seem to have suffered a defeat in Egypt. In the same month Nanâ of Agadé and the gods of Agadé were brought from Elam, whither they had been taken, perhaps, by Ḫumbaḫaldašu (Ummanaldas), and entered Agadé on the 10th of Adar.

In the month Tebet of the eighth year of his reign Esarhaddon captured and spoiled the land of the Rurisâa, and brought the plunder to the city Ur in the month Kislev. On the 5th of Adar the wife of the king died.

In Nisan of the tenth year of Esarhaddon an Assyrian army was sent to Egypt, and on the 3rd, 16th, and 17th of Tammuz battles were fought, the result being that Membi (Memphis) was taken on the 22nd. The king of Egypt (Tirhakah) fled, but his son and the [sons] of his brother were captured.

A revolt seems to have taken place in the eleventh year of Esarhaddon.

In the twelfth year of his reign Esarhaddon started for Egypt, but fell sick on the way, and died on the 12th of Marchesvan, after having ruled Assyria* for twelve years. Šamaš-šum-ukîn in Babylonia, and Aššur-banî-abli in Assyria, his two sons, sat upon the throne.

 Šamaš-šum-ukîn, Saosduchinos.

In the month Iyyar of the accession-year of this king, Bel and the gods of Akkad were brought from the city Assur and taken into

* Babylonia is not mentioned by the chronicler.

Babylon. In the same year the king of the city Kiribtu was captured. In the month Tebet, the 20th day, Bêl-êdir was captured in Babylon, and killed.

Here the tablet comes to an end. It seems to have been the first of the series, and was copied from the original in the twenty-second year of a king whose name is almost entirely lost, a few wedges of the first, and some traces of the last character, being all that can be seen. From what remains, I conjecture that this king was Darius.

The following small text gives some interesting facts about the chronology from about the year 424 B.C. About two lines are lost at the beginning.

SP. II. 48. OBVERSE.

| *Text.* | *Transcription.* | | *Translation.* | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | XIX | Da-ra-muš XVIII | 19 Darius | 18 |
| | VIII | Ar-tak-šat-su XVIII | 8 Artaxerxes | 18 |
| | XXVI | Ar-tak-šat-su XVIII | 26 Artaxerxes | 18 |
| | VIII | U-ma-su XVIII | 8 Umasu | 18 |
| | III | Da-ra-muš XVIII | 3 Darius | 18 |
| | III | An-ti-gu XVIII | 3 Antigonus | 18 |
| | XV | Si XVIII | 15 Seleucus | 18 |
| | XXXIII | Si XVIII | 33 Seleucus | 18 |
| | LI | Si XVIII | 51 Seleucus | 18 |
| | LXIX | Si XVIII | 69 Seleucus | 18 |

REVERSE.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | LXXXVII XVIII | 87 | 18 |
| | CV XVIII | 105 | 18 |
| | CXXIII XVIII | 123 | 18 |
| | CXLI XVIII | 141 | 18 |
| | CLIX XVIII | 159 | 18 |
| | CLXXVII XVIII | 177 | 18 |
| | CXCV XVIII | 195 | 18 |
| | CCXIII XVIII | 213 | 18 |

Now it is clear that we have here a series of dates, each being, as the number at the end of each line shows, eighteen years apart, and the probability is, that these dates refer to a lunar cycle, beginning with the nineteenth year of Darius II. The next ruler mentioned is Artaxerxes, whose name occurs twice, the date being, in the first instance, doubtful, but in the second, quite certain. The next recurrence of the cycle is in the eighth year of a ruler named Umasu. The third year of Darius III follows this, and then comes the third year of *Antigu*, a name which is evidently shortened, after Babylonian custom, from *Antigunusu* or Antigonus. After this, the fifteenth and following years of the Seleucidaean era (Si. being short for Silukku or Seleucus) are given in intervals of eighteen, until the 213th year of that era. This last probably marks the date when the document was drawn up.

Now by subtracting the named years from the period of eighteen, and adding what is left to the foregoing number, we get the number of years of the reign of each ruler mentioned.

Example: The first year mentioned is the nineteenth of Darius II, the next is the eighth year of Artaxerxes. The interval is eighteen years. Subtract, therefore, eight from eighteen, and add the remainder (ten) to the nineteen mentioned in connection with Darius II. The result, twenty-nine, shows the length of this king's reign.

Applying this to all the dates given, we find that the length of the reigns of the rulers mentioned, supposing that they succeeded each other, would be :—

| | |
|---|---|
| Darius II | 29 years (= 424—395 B.C.) |
| Artaxerxes II | 36 years (= 395—359 B.C.) |
| Umasu | 23 years (= 359—336 B.C.) |
| Darius III | 18 years (= 336—318 B.C.) |
| Antigonus | 6 years (= 318—312 B.C.) |

This, however, cannot be taken as perfectly reliable for the lengths of the reigns, as it is possible that, in some cases, kings whose reigns lasted only a short time, came in between, and are not mentioned, because none of the years of their reigns touched upon the period of eighteen years. It is quite certain, however, that between the first year of Darius II and the first year of the Seleucidaean era was a period of 109 years. The whole space of time embraced by this little tablet is a period of 322 years.

It will be seen that, in the first place, the length of the reigns of Darius II and Artaxerxes do not agree with those given by the Greek historians, Darius II having reigned, according to them, 19, and Artaxerxes II 46 years. The total, however, is the same. The 23 years of Umasu must be shortened by two years, so as to make room for Arses, who ruled for two years, but as his short reign did not touch upon the period of eighteen, it has not been inserted in the list. Umasu reigned, therefore, twenty-one years, and is to be identified with the Ὦχος of the Greeks.

As Darius III reigned less than five* years, it is clear that the whole of the eighteen years indicated by the tablet cannot belong to him, but are probably to be assigned to Alexander the Great, or one of the generals acting for him, and Pilipsu or Philip III, who probably fled to Macedon in the year 318 B.C., and was succeeded in the government of Babylonia by Antigonus, who seems to have ruled the country not as king, but as regent, during the minority of Alexander IV. Several small tablets dated in the regency of *An-ti-ig-nu-us-su*, *An-ti-ig-nu-su*, or *An-ti-ig-nu-us*, the *Rab-u-ḳu*, or *Rab-u-ḳa*, have been found at Babylon, the latest being dated in his sixth year. The use of the word *Rab-uḳu*, "general,"† instead of *šarru*, "king," shows that the Babylonians at least did not regard him as king, though the title Rab-uḳu, "great man," is, perhaps, the nearest approach to the borrowed *lugallu*, "great man," "king," that could be found.

The next ruler recognized by the Babylonians seems to have been *A-lik-sa-an-dar*, *mâr A-lik-sa-an-dar*, *šarru*, "Alexander, son of Alexander, king," the latest date being the 10th year of his reign. The tablets dated in his reign came from the same place, and are of exactly the same style, size, and shape as those of the time of Antigonus.

(*To be continued.*)

* Four years and eleven months.

† Literally "great man," from Babylonian *rabû*, "great," and *uḳu* (evidently the Akkadian *uku*), "man." Compare Rab-saku = Rabshakeh, Rab-mugu = Rabmag, &c.

BRONZE STATUETTE INLAID WITH GOLD, OF OSORKON I.

IN THE POSSESSION OF PROF. LANZONE,

About ⅓ natural size.

The following is an abstract of the Note by Miss Giovanna Gonino, on a Statuette of Osorkon I, read at the Meeting held 4th March :—

I am indebted by the kindness of my learned friend Professor Lanzone of Turin for the interesting photograph now exhibited,* and published here for the first time.† The following description was obtained in the course of a conversation I had on the subject at his own house :—

Whilst travelling in Lower Egypt he found himself one day at Scibin-el-Canater, not far from Tel-el-Jehudieh, and not wishing to let so good an opportunity pass without visiting again those old ruins, which he had often examined, and always profitably, finding each time, among the Arabs rummaging the ground for *sebas*,‡ some precious object. This time again he was not disappointed, for being attracted by the shrill cries of two Arabs, he found that they had unearthed a small terra-cotta vase, containing bronze coins mixed with fragments of statuettes, and close to them a somewhat large oxidized mass, of no particular form. When cleaned and the oxidization removed, it proved to be the statuette of Uasarkan I, the second king of the XXIInd dynasty, supposed to have been the second son of king Sheshiak, the eldest son Supot having died before his father.

The statuette is of bronze, 14½ inches in height, and weighing grams 213·3; it is ornamented with *royal*-rings and inlaid with gold. The right arm is wanting, and the figure has been broken off at the ancle. The king's face is youthful, and he wears the *nemes*, or wig. His forehead is encircled with the *ureus*-serpent common to all Egyptian kings, for they saw in this a natural emblem of the everlasting youth of the sun, and of its course in the heavens. The left arm is extended, and the king holds in his hand a vase which he is going to offer.

On the left shoulder-blade is a cartouche with his name, Amen-Mer-Uasarkan, and on the breast a second bearing his prenomen Ra-χem-keper-sept-n-ra, below which is represented the bird of Thoth, the sacred Ibis, resting on a standard. Under the right arm is a god standing, with a hawk's head (Horus), and holding the *uas*

* See annexed plate, which is copied from the photograph.

† This appears not to be correct, as the statue was published with a description by Prof. Lanzone, and a photograph, in the "Atti della Reale Academia delle Scienze di Torino," Vol. XI, Adunanza del 5 Decembre, 1875.—W.H.R.

‡ Manure composed of ancient bricks in decomposition, and containing a large proportion of animal and vegetable matter.

or sceptre in his left hand. He wears the *pchent*. Under the left arm, a divinity with a cat or lion's head, but too much damaged to allow a decision which it is being made with any certainty. She holds in her hand a lotus-headed sceptre. The king is clothed with a striped scarf round his loins, with a clasp supporting the *scenti*, a kind of short tunic, his name being inlaid below the clasp.

On the back of the figure, exactly where the pigtail terminates, a vulture is pictured, with outstretched wings, girding his sides in a protecting attitude, and holding in its talons the two mystical rings, emblems of a long series of ages.

It must be mentioned that this beautiful statuette is the only one known of this monarch.

The following has been received from Dr. Birch:—

I lately obtained from one of the Post Office Volunteers who served in the late war in Egypt of 1882 the following inscription, on a piece of black basalt, which forms the left hand side of a tablet. The letters are small, and of the Ptolemaic period, resembling those of the Rosetta Stone. The fragment is about 6 inches long and 3 inches wide. It came from Zagazig.

. . . . . .
. . . . . Η . . . . . .
ΔΑΝΕΤΑΥ . . . . .
ΜΕΩΣΩ . . . . . .
ΚΑΙΔΙΨΟΣ . . . . .
ΧΡΥΣΙΟΥΚΑΙ . . . . .
ΑΠΟΤΩΜΜΕ . . . .
ΑΥΤΟΥΧΩΡ . . . . . .
ΠΡΟΘΥΗΩ . . . .
ΤΟΥ . ΩΗΣΗ . . . .
ΑΥ . . . . .
Τ . . . . . .
Κ . . . . . .

There is too little left to make out the general purport or object of the inscription. The beginning of the 3rd line seems to contain the expression [δυνά]μέως Ὥ(ρου), 'of the power of Horus;' the 4th line, καὶ δίψος, 'and thirst;' the 5th line, ἀπὸ τῶν μέρῶν, 'from the parts;' the 6th, αὐτοῦ χώρας, 'his' or 'its country;' the 7th, προθύμων, 'of those willing,' or πρόθυφων, 'vestibules'; the 8th uncertain.

The following communication has been received from Dr. Wiedemann :—

## On some Greek Ostraka found at Elephantine.

During the year 1883 was published in these *Proceedings* a large series of Greek ostraka, principally from the collection in the British Museum, by the master-hand of Dr. Birch. As an addition to this publication, I send the texts of some ostraka of the same kind I brought back from Egypt in 1881. They were all found at Elephantine, are of the time of the Roman emperors, and are now in my possession. Although not quite complete, by comparing the texts of the better pieces given by Dr. Birch, it will be easy to restore the text, and in this way they will form a supplement to his interesting communication. The text is given quite in the same way as those published by Dr. Birch.

1. Written in a fine and plain hand :—

Σαραπιων Σαραπιω⌈νος
Αρπαησις Αρπαηση⌊ως
. . χαλεκλης αρ . . .
φ[οιν] πρωτου L . . . .
. . Αδριανου του κ⌈υριου

"Sarapion, son of Sarapion . . . . . Arpaesis, son of Arpaesis . . . . . have paid for the palm-trees for the first year . . . . . of Adrian, the lord."

This tile, on which the sum of the tax is unfortunately broken off, dates of the year A.D. 117–8.

2. Written very cursorily, broken off in the upper part :—

ρου φ . . ρο . . .
Σενζωι^λ A . . . . . .
πυθ^ων φοινι ι β L . . . .
Αδριανου του κυριου

". . . . . Senzoilos, son of A . . . . . has paid for the trunks (πυθμένων) of palm-trees for the 12th year . . . . . of Adrian, the lord."

This tile is of 129 A.D.

3. Plain handwriting, on a bright rose coloured pot-fragment :—

Σω⌋τηρ και Παχνουμις Παταχηου
διεγρ[αψ̄ Αρπαησις Πανωπ⌈τεως
. . . . Παπρεμιθ υπ(ερ) μερις(μου)
δρα]χ τρεις οβο^λ δυο χαλ(κου)
. . . . . χ^α Lια

"Soter and Pachnumis, son of Patacheos . . . . . has paid Arpaesis, son of Panoptis . . . . . from Papremis for the assessment, 3 drachmas 2 obols of copper . . . . . of copper. In the 11th year."

To this piece we may compare the numbers 13 and 20 of Froehner in the *Revue Archéologique*, new series, Vols. XI and XII, on which Soter and Papremithes appear as collectors. As these two pieces belong to the reign of Antoninus, our date of the 11th year will belong to the same time, so that the piece will be of A.D. 148.

4. Nice, but very cursorily hand:—

Ουλπιος Κερεαλις και Δω[λιπιος
Δωλιπιου μισθο^τ ιερας πυ[λης Σοηνης δια
Πηλιου και Ουνιπιοθ βοη[θων διεγρ
Ταμισις Υπιτριτω[νος υπερ μερισμων
παk̄ ιζ ϟ ονō (ονοματι) Π . . . . .
ματιου Εκτονδ . . . . .
μη^τ ϟιβL . . . . . .
μετρ . . επα . . . . . .

"Ulpios Kerealis and Dolipios, sons of Dolipios, contractors of taxes of the sacred gate of Syene by aid of Pelios and Unipiothes. Has paid Tamisis, son of Hypitriton, for the assessment . . . . . 17 drachmas. In the name of P . . . . . son of . . . . . matios, and the mother Ektond . . . . . 12 drachmas. In the year . . . . ."

Ulpios Kerealis appears on the pieces published by Froehner, Nos. 40, 42–3, in the years 160 and 163 A.D., under the reign of Antoninus. Our piece will belong in this way to nearly the same time.

5. Small fragment in a cursive handwriting:—

. . . . . Κο]μμοδου Αντωνινου
. . . . . παχ ιζ εγ̄ Στοδ
. . . . εικυσ]ι ϟ κ̄ και υπερ μερ̄ κη L
. . . . πε(?) . . . . . .

"The . . . . . year of Kommodus Antoninus (the lord), the 17th Pachons, has paid Stod . . . . . 20 drachmas, and for the assessment of the 28th year . . . . ."

This piece is interesting, as it is the first on which appears the name of the Emperor Kommodus. The series ends in general with Antoninus, and only one fragment of a later date belonging to the reign of Severus was published by Dr. Birch. Our tile is of 187 A.D., and the name of the Emperor is given in the same form as on the coins of the period from 183 to 191, where he is called M. Aurelius Commodus Antoninus. The year by which the date is given is

counted from the beginning of the government of Marcus Aurelius, as it is done on the coins of Kommodus coined at Alexandria.

6. Small and badly preserved fragment :—

. . . . . ν̄ ν̂ διεγρ̂ Γεριωνης
. . . . . μαιος Πημ[ιου
. . . . . δ̄ ῡ χ^ο (δει υπερ χειροναξιου)
. . . . . κυριου
. . . . . κ̄

". . . . . has paid Geriones . . . . . he owes for the workman's tax . . . . . the lord . . . . ."

7. Letter-fragment, in a thick and half-uncial handwriting :—

. . . . . μεπος . . . . .
Σ]αραπιωνι Τωφιν̄ χαιρ
Αμαρτανοις αδελφος
. . . . ι διεταξε παρ[εμου
. . . . . εισπεμψον

The first line belongs to a text of which nearly the whole is lost. After an interval of one line follows the letter :

". . . . . To Sarapion, son of Tophis, greeting . . . . . Amartanois, brother of . . . . . has paid to me . . . . . Send it !"

The name Sarapion is found so often on these ostraka that it will be nearly impossible to find out by his help only the time at which the letter was written.

Bonn, 10th May, 1884.

The following Communication has been received from A. H. Sayce :—

## New Cypriote Inscriptions from Abydos and Thebes.

It has long been known that among the numerous *graffiti*—Phœnician, Karian, and Greek—found on the walls of the temple of Seti I at Abydos in Egypt, there were some in the characters of the Kypriote syllabary. One of these had been published in the *Journal Asiatique* (VI Sér., xi, pl. ii, 14) from a copy of Zotenberg and another was communicated by Brugsch to Euting. But no one seems to have had any idea that such a rich store of them existed on the walls of the old Egyptian temple as I discovered this winter to be the case. During the fortnight I spent at Abydos I succeeded in copying no less than forty-four Kypriote texts. One of these is

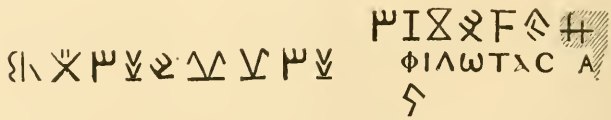
written on the foundation-walls that mark the site of the temple of Rameses II; the rest come from the beautiful building erected by his father, Seti I.

Encouraged by my success at Abydos, I carefully examined the monuments of Thebes in the hope of finding Kypriote *graffiti* upon them. But in this I was disappointed. In one place only did I find a Kypriote inscription. This was on the right-hand side of the entrance to the tomb of Ramses IV, in the Valley of the Tombs of the Kings, which is known among the natives as "Tomb number Ten." It was one of the tombs open in the time of Strabo, and much frequented by Greek visitors to Egypt. An examination, however, of the *graffiti* in these tombs, as well as upon other Theban monuments, has shown me that Greek visits to Thebes could not have commenced before the age of the Ptolemies. There are no early Greek inscriptions here as at Abydos or Abu-Simbel. The scrawls, which are exceedingly numerous in the tombs and on the white walls of Dêr-el-Bahâri, are all in the letters of the Alexandrine and Roman periods, and though Demotic texts are frequent, there are only one or two Phœnician ones, and the solitary Kypriote inscription of which I have just spoken.

I will now give the inscriptions in order, with translations, and any remarks they may seem to need.

South-west Staircase, left :—

I.




(A-ri)-si-to-ke-le-ve-se o Se-la-mi-ni-o-se ma-ne

(Ἀρι)στοκλέϝης ὁ Σελαμίνιος μ' ἄνε

*Aristoklês the Salaminian accomplished me.*

We find -κλέϝης with the digamma in other Kypriote texts, and Σελαμίνιος with ε occurs on coins (Deecke, Nos. 176, 177, who compares the Assyrian form of the name *Sillua*). Ἄνε is interesting, as the word is Homeric (*e.g.*, *Od.*, III, 496), though it is also found in the Attic dramatists and comedians, in Pindar and in Hêrodotos. It is a welcome contribution to our knowledge of the Kypriote dialect. The character *po*, which is written below the Greek name Φιλώτας, is probably the beginning of an unfinished name.

The staircase where this and the following inscriptions were copied leads into the temple from the south-west. A chamber adjoining it seems, from a Greek *graffito* I found there, to have been regarded as the seat of the oracle Sarapis, that is Osiris, and the *graffito* further shows that it was customary to sleep inside the temple in order to "dream true dreams." Hence I would explain the fact that so many of the *graffiti* are scratched only just above the level of the steps, on a line in fact with the face of one who was lying on them. The walls of the staircase are covered with the names of the visitors who waited here to receive the oracle.

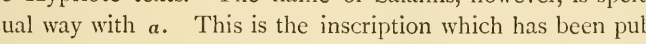
Same place :— II.

Me-no-ke-re-te-se Sa-la-mi-ni-o-se

*Μενοκρέτης Σαλαμίνιος. Menokretês of Salamis.*

The termination *-κράτης* appears here as *-κρέτης*, as elsewhere in the Kypriote texts. The name of Salamis, however, is spelt in the usual way with *α*. This is the inscription which has been published from Brugsch's copy (Deecke, No. 148), which has, however, omitted the first two characters.

Same place :— III.



(Me-)no-ke-le-e-se Ma-pa-ra-go-(ro o) Sa-la-mi-ni-o-se

*(Με)νοκλέης Ἐμβαραγό(ρω ὁ) Σαλαμίνιος.*

*Menoklês the son of Embaragoras, the Salaminian.*

This is written just above the preceding (No. II). The two natives of Salamis, who may have been brothers, seem to have visited Abydos together. The loss of the digamma in the name of Menoklês, and the way in which the name of Salamis is written, show that II and III belong to a later date than I. Embaragoras is formed like Aristagoras, Embaros and Embarês being both Greek names. It must be confessed, however, that the character I read *go* resembles *po*. ΜΕΝΕΚΡΑ(ΤΗΣ) is evidently the Menokretês of II in Greek letters, and spelt in the usual way. The *graffito* may therefore be regarded as bilingual. See No. XIX.

IV.

Couloir des Rois, left side :—

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 𐐣𐐬𐐯𐐩𐐤 | Mo-ko-sa-ni-se | *Μόξανις* |
| 𐐤𐐩𐐬𐐯 | te-o-do-ro | *Θεοδώρω* |
| 𐐬𐐬𐐬𐐩𐐯𐐣 | Se-la-mi-ni-o-(se) | *Σελαμίνιο(ς)* |

*Moxanis the son of Theodôros of Salamis.*

Here again the name of Salamis is written with *ε*, and the inscription may therefore be earlier than the two preceding ones. Moxanis is a name which does not occur elsewhere, and the first character has a curious form, while the second looks more like *po* than *ko*. The name of Theodôros is found in Deecke, 42.

Under the last line the character *ro* is written, apparently by a different hand.

V.

South-west Staircase, left side :—

𐐣𐐩𐐬𐐬𐐬𐐣𐐬𐐬𐐬

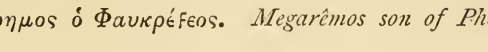
Same place :— VII

Me-ga-re-mo-se o Pa-u-ke-re-ve-o-se

*Μεγάρημος ὁ Φαυκρέϝεος. Megarêmos son of Phaukrês.*

The second character seems to be a *ka*. The name Megarêmos is however a curious one, and can be explained only on the supposition that ἔρημος was ἄρημος in the Kyprian dialect, though even then the name would be a strange one for a man. The seventh letter is distinctly *pa*, not *na;* we have another name compounded with *Phau-* in No. VIII. *Cf.* Deecke, 133.

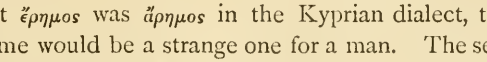
Same place :— VIII.



Pa-u-da-mo-se *Φαύδαμος. Phaudamos.*

Another new name, compounded with Φαυ-. Above this *graffito* is the Greek one referred to above: [Ὀνασί?]οικος με γράφει' ὁ Σελαμίνιος.

Same place :— IX.



Zo-ve-se o Ti-mo-va-na-ko-to Sa-ka-i-o-se

*Ζοϝής ὁ Τιμοϝάνακτος Ἀχαιϝός*

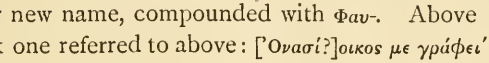
*Zoês the son of Timovanax (the) Akhæan.*

Zo-ve-se o Nu(?)-da-ma-u-sa-(o) *Ζοϝής ὁ Νυ(?)δαμαυσα(ο)*

*Zoês the son of Nu(?)damausas.*

The last name is not clear: the value of *nu* for the first character composing it is that suggested by Deecke. The name Ἀχαιϝός with the digamma is interesting. The mark of division between the characters *to* and *sa* is curious: it led me at first to think that the last word was σκαίϝος.

Same place :— X.



Zo-ve-se te o Ti-mo-va-na-ko-to Se(?)-ki(?)-e-da-vo-da-u

*Ζοϝής τε ὁ Τιμοϝάνακτος Ἐχι(?)εδαϝόταυ.*

*And Zovês, the son of Timovanax, the son of Ekhiedaotas* (?)

This *graffito* is written just below the preceding. In my first copy the second *se* (at the beginning of the last word) is without a query, the last letter but three is *to* (?) rather than *ta*, and the last letter is *mi*. I have no idea as to the real value of the character I have transcribed *ki* (?). It is written very distinctly in the original. The last character but three seemed to be intended for *vo*.

Same place :— XI.

| | |
|---|---|
| [illegible] (?) [illegible] | E-lo-te-ne-se |
| [illegible] (?) [illegible] | [Zo-ve-sa-ku] o E-lo-te- |
| [illegible] | ki-o-se |
| [illegible] | e-se ma- |
| [illegible] | ko-ro-se |
| Ἡλοτενής | *Hêlotenês* |
| ὁ Ἡλοτήκιος. | *the son of Hêlothêkis :* |
| ἦς μακρός. | *he was tall.* |

The character I have given as *lo* is indistinct in both places in which it occurs, and may be [illegible] *mu*. The words Ζοϝής ἀγυ . . . belong to another *graffito*, scrawled by Zovês, but never finished. I have no idea what is the second element in the name of the father of Hêlotenês. The 3rd person sing. imperfect ἦς is new ; the same form is found in Arkadian (Teg. 39), and is a fresh illustration of the resemblance between the Kyprian and Arkadian dialects.

Same place :— XII.

| | |
|---|---|
| [illegible] | Ne-va-go-ra-se o Ne-va-pi |
| [illegible] | te-o-se. |

*Νεϝαγόρας ὁ Νεϝαπιθέος. Nevagoras the son of Nevapithês.*

The punctuation must be noticed, as well as the presence of the digamma in νέϝος.

XII.

[illegible] o o-zo (tauros) *Ταῦρος ὁ Ὄζω. Tauros son of Ozos.*

This is the only interpretation I can suggest for this curious legend. It stands by itself, and is quite clear.

Same place :— XIII.

To A-na-ta. τῷ Ἄνθα. *Of Anthas.*

The insertion of the syllable *na* here is curious, but there are no such names as Anatas or Anandas.

Same place :— XIV.

Se-so(?)-mi-se-o-se, *Of Seso(?)misês.*

The *graffito* is repeated twice. According to Deecke, a character similar to the second in this inscription had the value of *so* at Amathus.

Same place :— XV.

U-zo Ni-pi-o-la-to-re. *Niphiolatôr(?).*

I can make nothing out of this. All the characters composing it are clear except two; what looks like a rude drawing of a bow and arrow may be intended for *mo*, and the character I have read *pi* may possibly be *o*.

Same place :— XVI.

O-na-si-se. Ὄνασις. *Onasis.*

Same place :— XVII.

I-sa-ta-go(?)-ri-(se) *Istagoris*(?).

The final *se* is very indistinct. Compare No. XLI.

Same place :— XVIII.

(E)-ra-ke-le-ve-se o Te-o-do-ti-ya.

Ἡρακλέϝης ὁ Θεοδοτίγα, *Hêraklês the son of Theodotias.*

The name of Hêraklês written in Greek letters occurs at a little distance from this *graffito*, on the same side of the same staircase.

Same place :— XIX.

? ?

Mi-no-ke-re-te-se o Pu-nu (?)-ta (?)-go-ro.

*Μινοκρέτης ὁ Πυνταγόρω (?)* *Minokretês the son of Pnutagoras.*

The name of the father is doubtful, since the second character composing it may be *ro*, and the third *ve*. In No. II we have M*e*no-klês instead of M*i*no-kretês.

XX.

Same place, immediately below the preceding :—

To-pu(?)-nu-re-ti-mo-se.

I can make nothing of this, unless we read the second letter as *te*, and render *τόδε Νυρέτιμος*, "Nyretimos (wrote) this." But even so, the name Nyretimos would be a very strange one. All the letters of the inscription, however, are clear.

Same place :— XXI.

o Mi-da-u. *ὁ Μίδαυ.* *The son of Midas.*

Same place :— XXII.

. . . da-le-e-(se)

Perhaps the name is Edaleês.

Same place :— XXIII.

A-ke-se-to-me-pe-se o Vo-yi-to.

*Akestomephês the son of Voitos.*

The second part of the compound name is not easy to explain.

XXIV.

On the right-hand side of the staircase :—

Sa-ta-si-ke-(re-te-se), *Stasikretês.*

The name is written Stasikr*a*tês in Deecke, 17, 1; 18, 2.

Same place :— XXV.

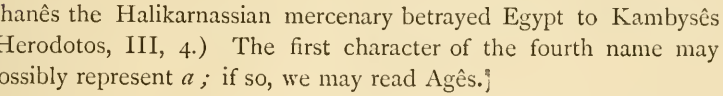
... mo(?)-po-to-ke-re-te-se .. (o?)sa-o-se Pa-ne-se Va(?)-ke-se.

... *optokretes.* .. *saos. Phanês Vakês* (*or Agês*).

Here are evidently four names, perhaps of Kyprian mercenaries. Phanês the Halikarnassian mercenary betrayed Egypt to Kambysês (Herodotos, III, 4.) The first character of the fourth name may possibly represent *a* ; if so, we may read Agês.]

XXVI.

Couloir des Rois ; right side :—



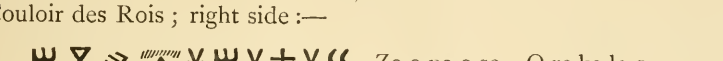
Zo-o-pa-o-se O-re-ke-le-s.

Ζωόπαος Ὀρκλῆς.

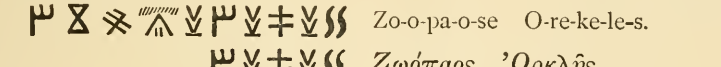
*Zôopaos* : *Orklês.*

The second element in the name Zôopaos seems to be the root which we find in πέπαμαι. Orklês is a curious word.

Same place :— XXVII.



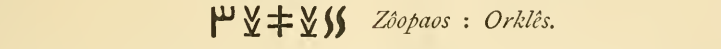
Ne-ni-si-to-ti-mo-se, *Nenistotimos.*



Ne-ni-si-to-pa-le-ne, *Nenistopallênê.*

The first element in the names of these two persons, who may have been brother and sister, is inexplicable, but the second character must be *ni*, and not *ri*. The remarkable form of the *si* must be noticed, as well as the space between the two elements in the compound name Nenistopallênê.

Same place :— XXVIII.



Sa-vo-ke-le-ve-se o na-u-pa-mo-s

Σαϝοκλέϝης ὁ Ναύφαμος, *Savoklês the ship renowned.*

The digamma in the word σαϝο- is interesting, and disproves the etymologies which connect it with the Sanskrit *sâh-yas*, or the Latin *sacer*, *sanctus*. The Latin *sânus* stands for *sav-nus*.

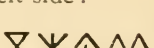
Same place :— XXIX.

O-na-si-lo-s, *Onasilôs.*

(an interesting contracted form of Onasilaos).

XXX.

Couloir des Rois ; left side :—

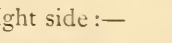
 Mi-si-i-ro(?).

All the characters are very distinct, except the last, which may be *le*. But I cannot explain the name, unless we are to read Misialê or Misiarô. But the *i* was clear, there being no trace of a lower perpendicular line.

XXXI.

Staircase ; right side :—

Ka-ra-ta-i-o-se

 mo-se.

*Κραταιός ἐμός, Krataios mine.*

The upright line after the second *se* shows that the inscription is written *boustrophedon*. The object depicted at the end seems intended for a quiver.

Same place :— XXXII.

O-yi(?)-ni Da-o-na-o-se. *Oini(s) Daônaos.*

A second inspection of the *graffito* seemed to show that the second character was *yi*.

XXXIII.

Staircase ; left side :—

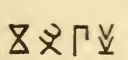
 .. a-na A-mo-to A-sa-ka-ri.

*.. ana(s) the son of Amontas (Amyntas) Askari(s).*

This is the inscription given by Deecke, No. 147, from a faulty copy of Zotenberg. Askaris may be connected with the Egyptian *Sekari* or *Skari*, a name of Osiris.

XXXIV.

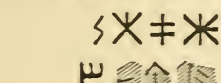
Immediately below the preceding :—

 .... me-re-sa-ne.

The first four characters seem to be fantastic ones ; at all events, they do not belong to the Kypriote syllabary. The writer has possibly omitted the character *ke* ; if so, we may read *μ'ἔρεξαν*, "they made me."

XXXIV.

Cella of Osiris ; left wall :—



| | | |
|---|---|---|
| | O-go-ke-le-ve-se | *'Οχοκλέϝης* |
| | pa-se ta ve-sa-ta mu(?) | *βάς τὰ ϝέσθα* .. |
| | e-pa-i-pe | *'Επαιφέ* |
| | ..... se | ..... *σε* |

*Okhoklês arrived and (saw) the garments on the ... of Epeipi.*

The character  seems to represent a numeral, while *epaipe* must stand for the Egyptian month Epeipi.

XXXV.

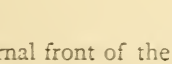
External front of the temple ; 5th column from the north :—

Ti-mo-te-mi-se o Ti-ma-do-ro-so

*Τιμόθεμις ὁ Τιμανδρόσω, Timothemis the son of Timandrosos.*

XXXVI.

External front ; 7th column :—

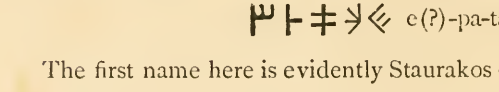
 Na-pe-i Ke-le-ta-go-ro.

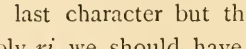
*Napéi(s) son of Klêtagoras.*

The second character is not quite certain.

## XXXVII.

Immediately below the preceding :—


Sa-ta-(u)-ra-ko-se a-..-e-to-ke-re.


e(?)-pa-ta-se.

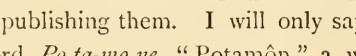
The first name here is evidently Staurakos (or possibly Stauragos). If we might read the last character but three of the first line *si* instead of *e*, and supply *ri*, we should have *Aristokre*(*tos*), "son of Aristokretês." The first character of the second line would then be *e*, and we should have the word ἔφθασε, "he came first."

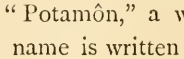
## XXXVIII and XXXIX.

On the 6th column are two well-cut inscriptions of some length, but unfortunately the greater part of them is concealed behind a wall built by Mariette to keep out intruders. Until the wall can be pulled down, and the *graffiti* completely copied, there is little good in publishing them. I will only say that one of them ends with the word *Po-ta-mo-ne*, "Potamôn," a well-known Hellenised Egyptian name. The same name is written in Greek letters above a Karian *graffito* in the small chamber of Meneptah.

## XL.

The Southern Sanctuary :—


Po-to-* A-pu(?)-* mo-zo.


Tu-ra-vo-* .

The letters are all very clearly cut. The last one may be a form of *xe*, so that we should have the names Ptôx and Thuravox.

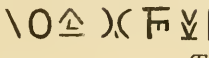
Same place :— XLI.


A-sa-ta-go-ra. *Of Astagoras.*

All the letters are very distinct. See No. XVII.

## XLII.

Temple of Ramses, left of the entrance :—

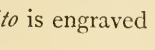
 Ti-mo-se o Tu-ru-si-ya.

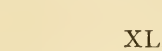
*Timos son of Drysias.*

A Karian *graffito* is engraved just above this.

## XLIII.

On right hand of entrance to Tomb No. 10, Tombs of the Kings, Thebes :—

 Pi-mo-ta-ke e

 ro se na mi.

Perhaps "Pimônthakê, daughter of Hêro . . . . ." Pimônthês is an Egyptian name. The letters are distinctly written, with the exception of the first of the second line. The last letter of this line is evidently *mi*.

I came across other fragments of Kypriote *graffiti* at Abydos, such as *o Vo-no-to-lo*, "the son of Vonotôlos (?)," on the left hand side of the great staircase, or *pa-le* (? Nênistopallênê), on the inner side of the eastern part of the peribolos, or . . . *te-ne*, in the chamber of the kings, but they are all too imperfect to be worth reproducing.

Since only one Kypriote inscription occurs in the Tombs of the Kings at Thebes, where none of the Greek *graffiti* are older than the Ptolemaic age, it would appear that the natives of Kypros left off using their old syllabary about the time of Alexander. The visitors to the oracle of "Sarapis," in the already ruined temple of Seti at Abydos, were doubtless, some of them, mercenaries, but the greater number were probably tourists and traders. Some of the Greek inscriptions at Abydos are as old as the age of the Abu Simbel texts, but since no Kypriote characters are found at the latter place, we may perhaps infer that none of the Kypriote inscriptions at Abydos can claim an equal antiquity.

P.S.—M. J. P. Six has been kind enough to send me some suggestions and corrections of the foregoing. In III he reads *ku* instead of *ma*, so that the name will be Kypragoras. In VI he suggests that the patronymic may be Malakleides, the equivalent of Herakleides since, according to Hesykhios, Malika (Phœnician Malik) was the Amathusian Heraklês. On IX he asks if Nutmausa(r) may not be "an Egyptian or Hittite name?" For XV he proposes *Yzomôn Iphiolatôr*, and in XXIII Akestomempses or Akestomemphes. For the second line of XXVII he suggests *Nenistô halên*, "son of Nenistos, the king," *halên* being Phrygian for "king;" and in XXXIII he would read A-sa-ka-ni-(o), "Askanios." On XXXIV he makes the attractive suggestion that the first four letters are Pamphylian, since the first occurs on coins of Sidê, and asks if the inscription is not bilingual, in which case we should have a Pamphylian name Mersan (Me-re-sa-ne), written both in Pamphylian and Kypriote. The first four characters certainly resemble the Aramaic equivalents of *M-r-s-n*. In XL he would read doubtfully Po-to-su A-pu-tu-mo-nu Tu-ra-vo-su, "Potosys, son of Abdemon, a Tyrian."

The following Communication has been received from the Rev. J. Marshall:—

138, Fellows Road, N.W.,
*April* 17*th*, 1884.

Dear Sir,

A passage of Philo bears so directly on the subject of Dr. Chotzner's interesting paper, that I send it as a contribution to the discussion. It will be seen that Philo considers a very strict seclusion to be proper for, and customary among, women. Girls are not to pass the door of the inner apartment of the tent or house, and married women not beyond what we should call the front door. This seclusion is as strict as ever prevailed in Greece, and stricter probably than Roman usage required. The duty of a woman to stay at home, and her prerogative to rule there, is the subject of Xenophon's Œconomicus, which is an amplification of the passage quoted, and may very possibly have suggested some of its expressions.

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